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Regional Oral History Office

Earl Warren Oral History Project

McIntyre Faries

CALIFORNIA REPUBLICANS, 1934-1953

An Interview Conducted by
Amelia R. Fry and Elizabeth Kerby

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Judge McIntyre Faries

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PREFACE

The Earl Warren Oral History Project, a five-year project of the Regional Oral History Office, was inaugurated in 1969 to produce tape-recorded interviews with persons prominent in the arenas of politics, governmental administration, and criminal justice during the Warren Era in California. Focusing on the years 1925-1953, the interviews were designed not only to document the life of Chief Justice Warren but to gain new information on the social and political changes of a state in the throes of a depression, then a war, then a postwar boom.

An effort was made to document the most significant events and trends by interviews with key participants who spoke from diverse vantage points. Most were queried on the one or two topics in which they were primarily involved; a few interviewees with special continuity and breadth of experience were asked to discuss a multiplicity of subjects. While the cut-off date of the period studied was October, 1953--Earl Warren's departure for the United States Supreme Court--there was no attempt to end an interview perfunctorily when the narrator's account had to go beyond that date in order to complete the topic.

The interviews have stimulated the deposit of Warreniana in the form of papers from friends, aides, and the opposition; government documents; old movie newsreels; video tapes; and photographs. This Earl Warren collection is being added to The Bancroft Library's extensive holdings on twentieth century California politics and history.

The project has been financed by four outright grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and by gifts from local donors which were matched by the Endowment. Contributors include the former law clerks of Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Cortez Society, many long-time supporters of "the Chief," and friends and colleagues of some of the major memoirists in the project. The Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation and the San Francisco Foundation have jointly sponsored the Northern California Negro Political History Series, a unit of the Earl Warren Project.

Particular thanks are due the Friends of The Bancroft Library, who were instrumental in raising local funds for matching, who served as custodian for all such funds, and who then supplemented from their own treasury all local contributions on a one-dollar-for-every-three dollars basis.

The Regional Oral History Office was established to tape record autobiographical intervies with persons prominent in the history of California and the West. The Office is under the administrative supervision of James D. Hart, Director of The Bancroft Library.

Amelia R. Fry, Director
Earl Warren Oral History Project

Willa K. Baum, Department Head
Regional Oral History Office

1 March 1973
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EARL WARREN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

Interviews Completed by October 1973

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Beverly Heinrichs, Reminiscences of a Secretary in the District Attorney's Office.
Clarence Severin, Chief Clerk in the Alameda County District Attorney's Office.
Homer R. Spence, Attorney, Legislator, and Judge.
E. A. Daly, Alameda County Political Leader and Journalist.
John Bruce, A Reporter Remembers Earl Warren.

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Portia Bell Hume, M.D., Mother of Community Mental Health Services.

EARL WARREN AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH. 1973

With an introduction by E. S. Rogers, M.D., Dean, UC School of Public Health, 1946-51.

Malcolm H. Merrill, M.D., M.P.H., A Director Reminisces.

Frank M. Stead, Environmental Pollution Control.

Henry Ongerth, Recollections of the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering.

Kent A. Zimmerman, M.D., Mental Health Concepts.

Lawrence Arnstein, Public Health Advocates and Issues.

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Marguerite Gallagher, Administrative Procedures in Earl Warren's Office, 1938-1953.

Verne Scoggins, Observations on California Affairs by Governor Earl Warren's Press Secretary.

Beach Vasey, Governor Warren and the Legislature.

INTERVIEW HISTORY

From the beginning of the Earl Warren series, Judge McIntyre Faries was high on the list of political interviewees because of his sustained leadership of California Republicans throughout the Warren years: vice president of the new California Republican Assembly after the 1938 campaign and president in 1939; also in 1938, vice president of the Republican State Committee and chairman of Governor Frank Merriam's campaign in Los Angeles County; in 1940 chairman of the Republican campaign in Southern California. While he was chairman of the Republican Executive Committee in Southern California, Republican National Committeeman Raymond Haight died and Faries was named in his place in September 1947, a position he held until 1953.

The pre-interview conference was held in his chambers in the Los Angeles County Courthouse May 7, 1970, between Judge Faries (with his wife present) and Amelia Fry. Thereafter a Los Angeles interviewer, Elizabeth Kerby, conducted two sessions -- June 22, and June 29, 1970. A final session was proposed for a future date, when interviews with other persons would have provided further questions; but by the time these preparations had been made, Judge Faries was under orders from his doctor to attempt no such projects until he could recover sufficiently from a recent heart attack.

Finally, another interview was held February 8, 1973, between Faries and Fry, in his beautiful apartment near Berea Park in Los Angeles. Judge Faries is impressive as an articulate person, devoted to producing a factual account. He knew what he planned to tell and then told it in a prose that was precise and uncluttered. This is apparent throughout the interviews.

When we had recorded all that our time would allow, there were still some fascinating chapters of his past which, while not relating directly to Earl Warren, are important and unique, such as his account of his childhood as the son fo a missionary in China. He resolved our dilemma by dictating this portion to his secretary, at his own expense, and contributing the typescript as an addendum to the interview. He also thoroughly reviewed the rough transcript of the interview and sharpened meanings, cleared up ambiguities, and in some cases added a point or two.

Later, by telephone, Judge Faries supplied further names and information during the final check for ambiguities and other

transcription uncertanties. In four or five places entire sentences were added in a telephone dictation and re-reading process. During the whole laborious procedure his patience was superb -- matched by his full intentions to produce as exact and accurate an account as possible. As a further guarantee, he requested that his account be checked with William R. Knowland, which is currently being done in the course of a series of taped sessions with the former senator.

Amelia R. Fry,
Interviewer-Editor

25 July 1973
Regional Oral History Office
486 The Bancroft Library
University of California at Berkeley

I THE 1952 CONVENTION

(Interview 1, June 22, 1970, Los Angeles County Courthouse. Interviewer: Elizabeth Kerby.)

Selecting the Warren Delegation

Kerby: Do you want to begin with the 1952 convention, or where? There was a lot of stuff published around that time that was very unreliable, I remember.

Faries: People that are very accurate on some things can be way off on other things when their emotions get into it.

Kerby: I was working for Time magazine in 1952 in the national affairs section, and I was telling Mrs. Fry that all I can remember about that campaign was poor old Robert Taft counting those votes, and flying in that airplane all over! [Laughter] [Seriously] It was a ferocious time for him. He worked so hard. It was just terrible.

Well, where would you like to start? Does this outline help you any?

Faries: Well, tell me what you want. There are a lot of things here. I don't know. As I said in my talk with Mrs. Fry, I can give you more background rather than actual statement because I was not, you might say, a campaign worker. I was the national committeeman that got the entire picture, and knew, but not by actual contact with the candidates.

In other words, Earl Warren didn't sit down and discuss with me what he was going to do. But, for instance when Earl Warren was going to set up his committee, I mean his delegates, I was one of the five that sat down and reviewed the names of delegates.

Faries: This was '52; Brennan was commissioned as one of the five to get the list of persons that should be taken. I talked with Warren, and I said, "Now what do you want to get here? People who are definitely committed to you and will stand by you? Are they chosen for that purpose or are they chosen as representatives of the Republicans in the area?" (The law provides for two from each congressional district, two delegates from each congressional district.) "How do we go about getting those delegates?"

So he said, "This is my delegation, which, if they sign up, (as our form then provided) it means that he (1) thinks Earl Warren is the best candidate for it, and (2) thinks he is for Warren and would support him for the nomination -- not saying how long. Those forms are made out and everybody signs one." He said, "First he has to be representative of the area, and we get him because he is a recognized Republican. But then he has to be willing to sign this form."

So there is a distinction there.

So I got out a letter to the state central committee members, to the county central committees, to all the Republican organizations in the district, and I said, "We will want your suggestions, from your district (of course, there were a certain number to be chosen at large) as to who should be the person or two persons that should go from your district. And you send in enough for those two and the others, and you send in a biographical statement on them." All those were accumulated by the committee and given to Bernie Brennan, who made a card index on all of them.

We went up to Oakland; I think it was the Athens Club. We sat down there and we sat <u>eleven hours</u> going over those names and discussing them and their backgrounds and so on -- Earl Warren and the committee of five.

Kerby: Would you name the members of that committee?

Faries: I don't remember who else was on it besides Brennan and myself, at the moment. I think Bill Knowland was on it, and a couple of others, but I can't say. Maybe he'll remember and maybe Bernard Brennan would remember. That's B-R-E-N-N-A-N of Glendale. He's still alive and still there. He was the secretary.

Faries: Now there were other names that came in besides, we'll say. Maybe that Earl Warren had, maybe there are others that we didn't get. But we'd consulted in all these areas, you see. We consulted all the Republican organizations. We consulted with the official and unofficial on all of them. We got all the lists; we went over every name so that, for instance, when we came to the 17th Congressional District we had the names and the dossier of each of the people and we went over it. And then we also went over it with the idea of selecting people for delegates-at-large. It was very interesting because I got a great insight into Earl Warren's thinking.

We would go over it, and we'd think we'd have the whole thing well-worked out, see, and then he'd sit back and he'd say, "Well, now, what about this? Did you ever think about this? And I know this . . ." and so on. The man has a real brain, there is no question about it.

[Interruption]

Faries: We went over this, and I said to him then and also over the telephone --

Kerby: This was in Oakland, at this committee meeting?

Faries: In Oakland. I said to him over the telephone, I think either before or after, or both. "A lot of these people, while they'll sign up to support you, are not definitely for you. There is an increasing Eisenhower movement here."

[Interruption]

Faries: "An Eisenhower swing on the part of some of these people," and so on. He says, "We can't help that. We want to get the best people, and if they sign up, I will trust them on their support."

Kerby: Well, when he said, "The best people," was he . . .

Faries: He meant the most representative people and people that would be recognized. Remember that you qualify your delegation, and each Republican voter gets a list of that delegation. Now, if there are two delegations, the Werdel delegation, for instance, and the Warren delegation, a lot of people will look down the list for the names that they think of as the Republicans that they

Faries: should follow. Just like for judges or anything else. So we were confronted with that. But Warren was big enough to say, and did say, "I want the representative people! And if they say they'll support me, I trust them to support me."

So, we got those lists; we made up those lists from that, with a few exceptions. Then we had also to push some of them into what we call "alternates" for these people, so really we chose four from each district plus whatever it was -- the number at-large -- which I've forgotten at the present. That's the way the delegation was chosen. It included people who wanted very much to go on the delegation, who were well-known people, congressmen; and other people whose primary loyalty, maybe, wasn't, maybe, to Warren, but they signed and agreed that they would support him.

Kerby: That's one of the things I don't understand. How does one go about doing this? You've signed this agreement that you support Warren --

Faries: At this time (the law has been changed a little) the law provided that you signed two separate papers. One of them that you would support the candidate, and the other, that you believed he was the best candidate.

Kerby: Well, how could you do this if you were a Taft man, or an Eisenhower man?

Faries: I am trying to get over to you, if you were dishonest and said that, then you were telling a falsehood.

Kerby: Right.

Faries: All right. We had reason to believe that a good many people were tending toward Eisenhower, but we trusted their integrity, and it was their integrity to follow what they said they would do!

Now, before the actual convention, and I was back there for two weeks (I was not on the train, 'tho I knew of the train), I was not yet made the Republican national committeeman, but I knew I would be; that is, I felt sure of it. But I had to be back there to make arrangements because I was chairman, I believe, of the radio and television committee of the group, and I was on the executive committee and so on. So in the

Faries: meantime, Mr. Taft starts dropping back (and I can give you the history on this, too. That is, my <u>own</u> history on it.) I get back there and immediately the former chairman of Republican n ational committee, I can't remember his name now, a congressman from Kentucky, said, "I want very much for you to see Bob Taft, and he wants to see you." I knew Bob Taft personally quite well; we were good friends.

I said, "All right, I'll go and see him. I'll pay my respects to him." So I went down that first day --

[Interruption]

Faries: So I went down to Bob Taft's rooms. I thought, "I better not be seen going in here, so I'll go down the back way into it." Now bear in mind, we were old friends, but he knew I was on the Warren delegation and I was supporting Warren. So just as I get walking in the back door, who greets me but Henry Luce's son -- Harry Luce's son! -- at the door. He says, "What are you doing here, coming in the back door to Taft's? Have you got some deal or something of that sort?"

I said, "No, I am just paying my respects to my old friend, saying "Hello" to him here."

He said, "What do you think the papers will say to that?"

I said, "Now look, you are interested in responsible reporting. Your grandfather and my father were old friends. Your grandfather took over from my father on the rebuilding of the Protestant mission in North China after the Boxer outbreak. My father went back in first, and I went with him; I was the first white child back in North China of ten million people. Then your grandfather took over. I am a friend of your father's; I am a friend of your mother's; and I want one promise from you."

He said, "What's that?"

I said, "Before you leak out any such story as you've indicated here I want you to promise that you'll take it up with your father, because I am interested in having something that is accurate and true, and not that."

He said, "All right, I will."

Faries: There was no story.

So I went in and I talked to Bob Taft. Bob stood up and he said, "Mac, what has happened to me?" And I told him. He said, "How many votes do you think I have on that delegation?"

And I said, "Let's draw the distinction between votes and friends. But at the present time, what do you think you have?"

He said, "I think I have about thirty-three."

[Interruption]

Faries: So I said, "You've got about nineteen." He said, "Is that all?" I said, "That is all you can count on, and you're not going to get those on the first ballot." He said, "I know."

I can go way back to where the Taft thing started to go wrong, but nevertheless -- but anyway, all this goes to Warren, you see, through Knowland, who's the Chairman of the delegation, to whom I reported on this thing. So he had it.

[Interruption - Lunch break]

Henry Luce

Faries: Harry Luce went to China Inland Mission School in Che-Foo China. My two older brothers went to school there with him. So he used to come into the office and reminisce like an older brother (although he is about the same age I am, I was not going to school at that time). Also I sent to him a number of pictures of China and the Mission School in Che-Foo, China, and that area, about that time, that I had gotten from an old aunt. They were taken by an uncle. He had seen those. So it was quite a friendly situation with Harry Luce, as we called him.

Kerby: You know Judge Kenny is a friend of ours.

Faries: Bob Kenny?

Kerby: Yes. And you may have seen an article that he wrote at the time that President Nixon published a book called Six Crises.

Faries: Yes, I remember the book.

Kerby: Judge Kenny wrote an article in Frontier Magazine* about that train ride, and about this whole question of the delegation. I got that book of Nixon's out and looked at it the other day to see what Nixon said. (I intended to bring it with me, but I forgot it. I'll bring it the next time we meet.) Nixon said that he was for Eisenhower all along. He didn't understand any of this business about charges that he was (I am paraphrasing the book) for Eisenhower all along.

Now, this is what I would like to hear you comment on.

Faries: I was not on the train, so it is a little difficult for me to say, but there are two things I can tell you.

First, that I arranged for the special train to go back there, but I had to go early because of other arrangements. I was not worrying about being elected as national committeeman and if I was it wouldn't take effect until after the convention was over because that was the last thing they do, to seat the new national committeeman, committeewoman.

But first, I knew this, and when it occurred I don't know, but I really learned part of this (this can be checked), that Eisenhower had said that in choosing a vice president, he, having been away for so much, he would be guided by a committee of five, which he appointed, as I recall. Cabot Lodge was the chairman, I believe. Thereupon, discussions started as to who would be the vice president. I knew that Nixon was among those being considered; whether the public did or not I do not know, but I had my eyes. Another one on that committee was Herbert Brownell, whom I knew very well.

Now, before the convention, Nixon was in Washington, then flew to Omaha, I believe it was, and joined the train in Omaha.

Kerby: I thought it was Denver but we'll check that.

---

*Kenny, Robert, "The Crisis Nixon Forgot," Frontier Magazine, April, 1962.

Faries: Maybe it was Denver. Anyway he flew there and joined the train. What was it, a Western Pacific train or what? Anyway, Ron Button was on that train. Ron and his wife Gladys had a drawing room, I believe. Ron was something on the delegation; he was well-known; he followed me as national committeeman. Ron gave up his room to the Nixons, he and his wife, as a courtesy. So the man to get the details from, on the train -- with respect to that, is Button. Ron was a great friend of, and later treasurer of California, under Knight. It was Ron Button who gave up his room. He lives in Hollywood; he's a lawyer, president of the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce. I think, last year.

Ron told me that there were meetings going on all the time with Nixon in the drawing room which the Nixons took over.

Now I suggest you get further data there. A. Ronald Button.

Kerby: When one signs a form of the kind that the delegates all signed -- you say that you and Chief Justice Warren were convinced of the integrity of each of these delegates --

Faries: I didn't say that. Excuse me. I said that we relied on the integrity.

Kerby: I see. You relied on the integrity. Yes. I am sorry.

Faries: There is quite a difference.

Kerby: Yes. There sure is.

All right. Now. The thing that I don't quite understand is (and, I would like your opinion on this), when Warren said that he relied on the integrity of these people, do you think that he really intended that these people would vote for him until he released them?

Faries: I think that he -- well, you're asking me to, shall I say, evaluate the thinking and the statements of Earl Warren.

I would say two things about Judge Warren, Chief Justice Warren; one is he has the type of mind that is always one jump ahead of you; he's thinking about something one jump ahead, at least, of what you are

Faries: talking about. The second thing that you have to remember is that Warren's only chance to be the president depended on somewhere along the line either Eisenhower feeling that he couldn't make it or Taft feeling that he couldn't make it.

Taft's Mismanagement

Faries: Also the control of the convention, and this is the main thing that locked it for Taft, was in the Taft supporters. They had the chairman and they had the machinery and so on, which they handled so very, very badly. Their lack of understanding of human nature was so horrible -- going clear back to the governors convention when the debacle started, in Texas.

Kerby: Pardon me, I'd like to clarify one thing there. You said that the control of the convention was in the hands of Taft people, but in your opinion that they mishandled it, that was what lost them the convention?

Faries: That was the main thing -- mishandling. Let me give you an illustration. I think it is a very good one.

Faries: I was chairman of radio and television. In '48 I was chairman and worked out the code to be followed. Television was a much less subtle gadget than it is now. One of the problems was the seating of delegates. In Mississippi there were two sets of delegates, and there were various ones throughout. The seating of delegates was a matter, unless they are over-ruled by delegates or some other way, of the national committee.

The Taft supporters caucused in the national committee and said, "We will not have television on the proceedings which we follow with respect to the seating of delegates, the contests before the committee." The other group wanted them.

They appointed the chairman, Guy Gabrielson, who was a very strong Taft man, and appointed a committee of three to consider the matter and make a report with respect to proceedings on the hearing of these contests. I was the chairman of the committee. Bear in mind that I am on the Warren delegation, and also on the executive

Faries: committee, public and national radio and television arrangements, and so on.

So he appoints two others. Now, it is obvious in appointing such a committee that he hoped to get a report of the committee after full study that was favorable to his viewpoint, from their viewpoint. He appoints a Mrs. Coffin, I think it was, to this Republican national committeewoman (I think it was Mrs. Coffin, anyway, she's from Washington, D.C.) and another man. And we met, and we listened to the still camera people, the television camera people and all the rest. What he didn't know was that this lady's son was chief counsel or counsel anyway for the National Broadcasting Company. Gabrielson had slipped and made that mistake. So he'd come in with a two-to-one report for the televising of it and for the allowing of maybe one camera to cover the whole thing to monitor for all the others. (At that time television was very hot. It'd come on your face and you'd soon be perspiring and so on.)

I'd come in; I'd make the majority report. There was a minority report recommending no television. We spent an hour and a half, say, or two hours on it. The committee report is rejected and the minority report is passing. All right.

I walked out the door, and I met at the door, I can't remember his name now, but I've known him since the days of T. L. Talley and the first movies and so on here. He says, "<u>This</u> will cost the Republican Party ten million votes, because they are secretive and won't let no people know how things go. The public will not take it and we'll see to it that the public gets the facts on it." And so on. He was real hot; he was head of the still camera people and some others. But I've known him because I grew up here and he grew up here, see.

So I looked him in the eye, I think I even took him by the lapel --

Kerby: [Laughing] I'll bet you did!

Faries: And I said to him, "What you say is <u>not</u> going to happen!" I said, "Did I carry the ball for you today?" And he said, "Yes, you did. I can't complain of you at all."

Faries: I said, "Then you are not complaining about me, you're complaining about the Taft supporters' activities, not about the Republican Party as a whole. And you'll find out before the convention is over that the Republican Party as a whole will support the majority report, and not the minority report adopted." He says, "All right."

I went back to my room. Within an hour a great big television set was in my room with the compliments of the television people.

[Laughter]

All right. Immediately, down at the entrace to the gallery for all the people, a great big door was set up and on the door was written, "Closed to all except Taft supporters." Two girls were stationed there, supposedly and their pictures were taken, "Sorry, you haven't a pass from Taft headquarters, you can't come in here," and so on.

Which was a lot of truth in that because they'd set up a pass system and Gabrielson had charge of passes on so on. All right. But anyway, that went all over the United States, see. All right. And it was true, it was true.

My wife had a telegram. I was waiting for Bill Knowland to come, I was to meet him on a certain flight and so on. A telegram came. She got that telegram and she wanted to get in and get that telegram to me, and she didn't want it read by anybody else. So she brought that telegram up and she went to the door (not this door but the actual door), and wanted to get in to see me in the meeting.

He said, "I'm sorry, you cannot get in there."

She said, "But this is an urgent matter. I have a telegram from Senator Knowland who is head of the Republican Delegation."

"Take it down to the Taft headquarters and get a pass from them down there to get in." That's a true story. She went down to the Taft place; she got the pass and she brought it in to me. All right.

Now this is some of the reasons Taft lost, because, not my instance, but other instances went out over the

Faries: media. All right.

We were having these meetings. Clarence Brown, who was Taft's floor manager, came to me, and he said, "We know that you are very close to Knowland and we have been trying to get hold of him, and we can't. We want Senator Knowland to be the Taft candidate for vice president -- the running mate. Warren can't make it, and we want Knowland to be his running-mate.

(Bear in mind that I have the Nixon matter in the back of my mind, too.) So I got on the phone, I agreed to, and phoned to Knowland.

He said, "Why, no. I wouldn't do that." He said, "You know how close I am to Bob Taft, but I wouldn't do that. I am pledged to Earl Warren. As long as Earl Warren is in the picture I will support Earl Warren. I am on record on it. He's my friend. This delegation is pledged to him. I wouldn't do that at all!"

I called Earl Warren and I told him. "Well, of course," he said, "I knew that Bill would be that way, and that is it. Thanks for calling me."

So I told Clarence Brown and the others, "That's the situation."

The convention starts -- no, I'll go way back a little farther, back of that.

Faries' Position as National Committeeman

Faries: I got a story the other day that I never heard. But in 1946, I think it was -- it may have been the first of '47. Raymond Haight was the Republican national committeeman for California, a very capable and you might say, a liberal Republican. He'd been a member of the Progressive Party. All right. Ray came to me and he said, "Mac," he said, "I'm sick. I don't want to go into the details with you, but I am sick." He says, "Will you take over as national committeeman for me?"

I said, "Now Ray, I don't want you to do that in the middle of a campaign and all. I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll take over the chairmanship of the Southern

Faries: California executive committee and I'll try to do the work for you, whatever you tell me to do. But, no, you're national committeeman, I don't want to do that."

Well, I didn't realize how sick the man was. So I took over, and called the executive committee and we went on. A few days later I got word he dropped dead in Coronado, in September about; the election was in November. All right.

So there was a meeting immediately after the funeral of Ray Haight. They went from the funeral to Goody Knight's house. I didn't go; it was ghoulish. But anyway, there was [a meeting], and it was important. (I really shouldn't say that, but --)

At this meeting were Governor Warren, Bill Knowland, Goody Knight, the lieutenant governor, and several others. And, as it was reported to me, the governor was very surprised, and so was Bill Knowland, how many people wanted to be Republican national committeeman. So anyway, Bill Knowland came to me and asked me if I would like to be national committeeman, and I said I would -- provided there wasn't any fight on it. So one after another they all dropped out. Kyle Palmer of the Los Angeles Times was doing the masterminding, I think, and I was made national committeeman. 'Right.

Kerby: You are speaking of the political editor of the Los Angeles Times, Kyle Palmer?

Faries: Yes, "the little governor," he used to be called in the days before Warren.

Kerby: In the days before young Chandler! I can't imagine a political writer on the Times doing that now, can you?

Faries: No. They had a different system then. I could go into that, too, I think.

Kerby: I would like to hear that.

Faries: Well, it must be remembered, and again this is all background, which you may not think of great value, I don't know, that since the days of the so-called "Southern Pacific domination of California," since the days of Hiram Johnson, party control has not been primarily or very largely at all a party structure matter. Hiram Johnson broke that up. Unruh may put it

Faries: back, but it hasn't come back so far, anyway. Of course they fixed the law so it couldn't come back very easily. So the legislature and congressmen really control a State Central Committee, and the County Central Committee are usually a lot of people that are nice people, and their names are well-known, but they don't do the work in there. If they do, they call on the Council of Republican Women to really do the work.

So there was the old group, which we'll say was the County Central Committee group and the State Central Committee group. There was the Warren group, at this time, and Knowland came along and he had a tie-in, very good with the Warren group -- because of the background of Earl Warren and his father and the town of Oakland and other things which I mentioned before. Also, Warren was something of a liberal. He had a lot of plans anyway, which he would put up before the public. Most of them were enacted.

Nixon's Position

Faries: So when a young fellow named Nixon came along, he had no group. He started his own group, he and his associates. Mostly fellows who had been in World War II. Some Nixon people had been active, like Brennan. And Brennan had been a professional as well as an amateur, at different times. Recognize that in Nixon -- and I could go clear back, I was one of the original seven before Nixon got out of uniform who sponsored his running. But they formed a group of their own.

When you come down to my appointment (which I discussed with Nixon here a month ago. He asked me about it.) --

Mrs. Faries: Did she know that we've just had an hour with Dick, alone?

Faries: Quite a while, about a month ago, yes. He asked about how I came to be appointed, and I told him about it.

But you must bear in mind that here were certain camps, not tremendously active against each other but each one having its own orientation.

I think it was 19 -- was it '48 or '50 that Nixon

Faries: ran for senator? Anyway, at that time I realized that Nixon was becoming more and more ambitious. (This was told to me by a friend a short time ago.) This was two years -- or four years before 1952. Bear in mind what I've said about Warren being one jump ahead of you, and being a very tough minded Swede -- hard-headed. This friend said, the other day, that he had gotten a telegram or a call from Bernie Brennan, who was on the Nixon group. It said, "I am asking you to be one of twenty men to put up $100 for Nixon to go on a tour of the state in running for the senate. We need $20,000. Ab [Abner] England has loaned him a second-hand Pontiac-- he's a Pontiac dealer in Hollywood. We need money for him, loud-speakers, and so on. Would you be one of twenty people to do it?"

So he called Bernie Brennan up. Bernie Brennan said, "This man is running for senator. We think and have thought since the start that he was presidential material and we expect to make him president. He could be president." All right. The thousand dollars was put up by each of the twenty men -- $20,000. He takes the trip. He is elected.

He gives a dinner afterwards, and these twenty people are there. Among some of those twenty people were people who had supported Warren pretty strongly and they were surprised to see each other there.

[Laughter]

Faries: Nevertheless, I am showing you that this thing had been in the minds of a lot of those strong Nixon people since he started. Not just going to Congress -- in my estimation anyway. It was beginning to be more and more evident, too, to Warren all the way through.

Kerby: Would you like to comment on the reports of the animosity between Nixon and Warren? No?

Faries: I would not. I would report on things that I have possibly seen and heard.

You see, I said a while back that Taft was defeated, in my estimation, by the lack of knowledge of human nature of his supporters. I could give you other instances. All right.

I knew that on the upper floor of the Knicker-bocker Hotel (which I had gotten for the convention. Some

Faries: people said I shouldn't have gotten it, but I did. I think it was a wonderful thing to do because we couldn't have done anything downtown. We had to get out a ways from the noise and hubbub.) There was a meeting practically every night between two and three o'clock in the morning going on. I know. I refused to go to them; I was invited. Nixon meetings. Who-all were there I don't know, but I know there were meetings.

I know that some of these people came to me and started to weaken, such as Charlie Thomas, who was later Secretary of the Navy under Eisenhower.

Kerby: How was this reported to you? You knew they began to weaken. Did they come to you of their own accord and say -- ?

Faries: You stand around the lobby and if you're national committeeman <u>everybody</u> comes up and talks to you.

Kerby: Oh.

Faries: And you know all of these people personally, by their first name. "Hi, Charlie Thomas wanted us to have a delegation released to us before the first ballot."

I knew that Charlie Thomas was wanting to be Secretary of the Navy, I knew that. I'd heard it before.

I got word when I was down at the convention hall after the convention started, the Nixon people were planning a big reception -- for Nixon. I had tied up (because the national committeeman makes all these arrangements and puts up his own money if necessary) about $6,000. I got it all back, I only advanced it to get hotel rooms for people and so on.

The then-Mrs. Faries brought down word and said that the Nixon people were planning a big reception this evening for Nixon. I said, "That can't be. Earl Warren is the head of this delegation. We are pledged to him. Bill Knowland is the national committeeman; you can't arrange these things behind his back. If you set up a reception for one member of the delegation, you can set up for all of them, maybe; you can set up a receiving line and so on."

So we pull out of the convention hall. We hot-foot it back there. We get hold of the hotel management. The management said, "Well, we thought that they had

Faries: cleared this with you in advance."

Kerby: The Knickerbocker management?

Faries: Yes. This is the Knickerbocker. I said, "This is our place. We have this rented. They don't have it rented."

So anyway, I got the Nixon people in to talk to them and they said, "Oh, we didn't think there could be any opposition to that. Just a friendly thing."

So I said, "Look, there's going to be a meeting which apparently you've told a lot of people there would be. We're going to have Earl Warren here. We're going to have Knowland here. We're going to have Nixon. And their wives, and they're all going to stand in line and everybody's going to give this thing, for the whole group." All right. But you see, this enthusiastic group were going to do this, and they didn't consult me, who was the man in charge. I was the man who was on the line financially.

Now, you see, my position was this, and I think Nixon has understood it: I had to see that everybody was fairly treated.

Kerby: Surely.

Faries: The assembly candidate, the state senatorial candidate, the governor, the others, and all, you see. So I couldn't be in anybody's camp, particularly.

When money comes in, and so many congressmen want so much, and so on, I had to try to work with the financial committee to say, "The assemblyman gets $500, the congressman gets $5,000, the senate candidate gets $20,000, and so on. All right. So that was my position and always has been. So I was not on the line for anybody, except that I recognized that the fellows that put me in there were, perhaps, primarily Bill Knowland with the approval of Governor Warren. All right.

It would seem to me to be very naive for Warren not to have gotten some word back, over a period of four years at least, maybe more, or the thinking of a high percentage of these Nixon people.

Faries: Anyhow, I am saying -- like the Taft group, he had his group, you might say, that were -- used to climb on coattails. Another thing that added to Eisenhower supporters on the Warren delegation was after Warren put Bernie Brennan as the Secretary of this Committee of Five to choose the delegates. A number of the delegates, after they were in there, or alternates (maybe the baby was sick or their business wouldn't permit them or something) dropped out at the last minute.

Warren had specifically said for one person that he shouldn't be on it. Came the last minute, it was time to go to the printer, and so on, a number of names had to be shifted. Practically everyone was shifted onto there -- we'll say Eisenhower supporters.

Kerby: How did that happen? Why did that happen?

Faries: You've been around a long time and I have too. Those things are ordinarily done at the last minute by the man that turns in the names then sends them to the printer, and so on. I've told you who the secretary of the committee was, and I could name some more names.

A fellow named Earl Warren was very distrubed about the thing. He called me, and was disturbed about it.

I said, "Well, this is the first I heard of it. I heard you say that so-and-so shouldn't be on the delegation, and some other things." "Well, he is on as an alternate" or something of the sort, see. I felt very badly about it, because I hadn't put thumb screws on where I should.

You see, after the delegation was all complete, some would phone in to the secretary and say, "I can't go." I had to go on East to meet with the national committee, so I was no longer there. I had to meet first with the committee on arrangements, then work on the code for radio and television, and get ballroom and reception room arrangements made, and attending the meetings on seating contested delegates or delegations, which was particularly important to the Eisenhower and Taft candidacies. So Bernie Brennan went on and made a lot of last minute substitutions.

But anyway, the man the governor was particularly disturbed about was Murray Chotiner, who went on the delegation, and there was an additional number for Eisenhower. The Eisenhower people were picking up, too,

Faries: of course. They had gone on at the last minute with the approval of the secretary (of the Committee of Five) -- Bernie Brennan -- and I don't know if he consulted anyone. There were ten or eleven of them as I estimate now.

So that was the start of the -- train problems, maybe?

Kerby: [Laughs] Yes.

Faries: Right. Then we have the train problems; then we have the meetings and we have the talk and so on.

So before we were going to have the first ballot, the night before it, the start, Bill Knowland called a meeting. In a very forthright way, and so on, we practically told them about what we had been hearing and all these things, but not in the detail that I've told you here. Contrary to what you see in the book, Just an Echo by a protege of Bertha Bauer, national committeewoman from Illinois who was tied into the McCormack family that owned the Tribune, which brought her into the convention.

Kerby: Just a Nickel, what book is that?

Faries: The delegation did vote to support Warren one hundred percent, and instructed Bill Knowland to cast the first ballot for him. I know because 11:30 that night or after I had to work to try to straighten some of these people out of it.

Kerby: Isn't this rather odd, that it was necessary to take this vote, when they were all on paper as --

Faries: And I am telling you why.

There are some records, I don't think there is anything of value in it, down at the Republican Associates. I gave them a lot of things.

OK. Now, for instance, strongminded people: Here is Gladys O'Donnell, for instance, who was later national president of the Federation of Republican Women's

Faries: organizations. At that time I think she was something or other in our local and state organization. Gladys O'Donnell was a very strong Taft person, by her instincts, we'll say, and background and so on, but nevertheless she agreed to go along with us.

She would have liked to have voted for Taft. Contrary to Just an Echo, Gladys got up and agreed to go along, did go along, and said we should live up to our committments and support Warren. As I recall it, George Murphy did the same thing.

So we voted to support Warren. But there was a general understanding that we would caucus after the first ballot. The polls at that time indicated that Eisenhower had been coming up, but that Taft still had the most votes, and that none would have a majority.

Warren, very smartly and very rightly, hadn't gone out into the other states and tried to get them. He got some in Wisconsin, and some others.

But anyway, I had a conversation about the day before or thereabouts with one of our delegates, who later was assistant secretary of labor under Eisenhower, Lloyd Mashburn I believe -- as I recall a very fine man, a labor man. He was at that time, I believe, the head of the lathers and plasterers unions for this area. He told me that they had counted, and they had one hundred three labor votes mostly from midwest delegations, which, if Taft did not make it by the third ballot, would be swung to Warren. This helps to give you the picture.

We went down the next day. Knowland had been authorized to speak for the delegation and to cast the seventy votes, or whatever it was, for Earl Warren, for president. Warren had a special telephone in the visitors gallery which everybody did not have the number of; I had it. It came in through back of the balcony as I recall it, and Bill Knowland had that telephone number. You had to leave the floor, go up into the gallery and over into a corner -- that connected with his personal headquarters.

The Balloting

Faries: Just before the voting started I saw Harold Jones, who was Taft's representative here in California, primarily. Harold is now dead.

I said, "Harold, this thing doesn't look good to me from a Taft standpoint." He was not a delegate.

"No, it's all right," he said, "it's solid. Taft's going to get it. Maybe not on the first ballot, but it's going to go for Taft."

I said, "All right, you've got it counted, Harry, you've got the delegates counted."

He said, "Yes, I have."

So the voting started. In the meantime, (I had not known this but I think it can be verified and I think I have it right because I got it through Joe Martin, who was the permanent chairman of the convention and through Bill Knowland later) when the Minnesota delegation caucused the night before the convention or afternoon before, they empowered their chairman (I think Warren Burger was the floor leader, but not chairman of the delegation as I recall) if he thought it was the thing to do, that he could switch a certain number of the votes to Eisenhower if it appeared that that would put Eisenhower in. Now this is the story that I got through both Bill Knowland and Joe Martin.

The voting started and it appeared that some votes were not fully --

[Interruption]

Faries: So. The voting started and we all had our little things there: Arkansas, as I recall it, yielded to California -- either Arkansas or Alabama -- one of the A's. So that Bill Knowland put Earl Warren in there early. The voting started and we voted early, so we were on record early. Then the things began to switch a little bit. A vote here and a vote there for Eisenhower, you see, starting a trend there, with practically no unexpected votes to Taft, comparatively few, but quite a number to Eisenhower. Along comes Minnesota, who cast a vote.

Faries: Somebody else may have yielded to them, I don't know. And they vote these votes for Eisenhower. Then the race was on, practically over. Bill Knowland sat here, Nixon sat next to him, I sat next and Mrs. Benedict, national committeewoman was next.

Kerby: Who?

Faries: Marjorie Benedict was the Republican national committeewoman. She's from Berkeley and she's still living up there, I think. Mrs. Henry Benedict.

Bill says, "I've got to go and phone Earl right away to get his authority and see what to do."

He came back in a little while and he said, "I can't get Earl, can't find him, can't get hold of him." And he did that twice, as I recall it.

In the meantime, after the switch started, other people were up and wanted to get the floor and switch. A lot of people were beginning to damn Bill Knowland because he hadn't gotten up and made the switch and gotten California to pull in there and get behind Eisenhower, see. Now it was because he couldn't get hold of Earl Warren. I don't know why, whether his phone was plugged or he was out or talking with Eisenhower or somebody else. I haven't the foggiest idea. It would be purely speculation on my part.

It was a fact, contrary to what people said, that Bill Knowland was doing his best to get through.

So Eisenhower takes it on the first ballot, Bill Knowland trying continually to get the floor after he got back; but he couldn't get it because, one, (I found out this later directly from Joe Martin) Joe Martin had promised that the first to get the floor or to make a switch would be Minnesota. He had given his word the night before on that. Secondly, after a lot of them started to jump, he decided and made the ruling that he would take them in alphabetical order and he would not allow all these switches until after the voting had been completed, clear down to the end. So when the California switch came, it was way late for the reasons I've indicated.

So Bill was out. Eisenhower was in.

Closed to research until January 1, 1980.

Faries: The author of Just an Echo said in there that there was an Eisenhower-Warren deal before the vote in the convention. But there was not. The promise was made about a month after the convention, when Knowland was on the campaign train with Eisenhower: Eisenhower promised Knowland that Warren would be named to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court.

Fry: Was that the first vacancy or just a vacancy?

Faries: Just a vacancy, as far as I know.

Fry: How did you find out?

Faries: Bill either called me right then and told me, or he told me after he got back to California. I think it was the latter.

Fry: Was this because Ike owed something to Warren?

Faries: No, it was just a friendship deal (between Knowland and Warren) that Bill put through.

Offer to Nixon

Faries: I'm sitting here [recreating the scene with gestures]. Nixon's sitting here. Henry Cabot Lodge comes down and wants to speak with Dick. I wasn't, supposedly, hearing the conversation, but I was sitting right here.

He says, "Dick, it's all decided. Eisenhower has agreed that you are going to be the vice-presidential choice."(It was customary to give the presidential candidate a free hand, but Eisenhower had already said he was naming a committee of five to work with him on naming a vice president). He went on, "He wants a member of one of the two houses, either Senate or House. He's an army man; he wants a navy man; he wants a man who was in World War II; he wants a man who can stand up and speak against strong speakers on the Democrat side, and he said you're the choice, and that's it. Will you do it?"

Dick said he would. Right in front of me. See, I was sitting right there next to him.

Bill was not around.

Kerby: You mean Bill Knowland was not around?

Faries: Not around -- yes. He's out trying to get --

Kerby: Trying to reach Warren on the phone?

Faries: Probably. At least he wasn't there. I know he had said he had to go and see him. He tried twice to get him and din't get him.

So Dick says to me, "Mac, will you go down and talk to Bricker with me?" Senator Bricker was top man with Taft, the senator from Ohio. So I went down with Dick to see Bricker. Dick explained to Bricker that this was the situation, and he said, "You know, John, we'd like very, very much, in the interest of harmony, if you would make the seconding speech for me, support me."

And Bricker said, "You know, Dick, this goes very deep with these people." He said, "You and I are great friends personally, but I cannot do it without getting the approval of my delegation -- which I will try to get-- under the circumstances."

Faries: So later he reported that he could not get it when he went to the delegation.

Knowland to Nominate

Faries: So we (Nixon and I) came back, and Dick leaves; he would have to go and talk to Eisenhower.

Bill Knowland comes back. The state senator from Contra Costa County, Tony de Lap (I knew him very well -- a very able, fine lawyer) said, "This is going to be awful rough on Bill. Let's get him out of here, take him around town and take him to lunch." Bill comes back before noon recess. So we get Bill and we take him by the arm, both of us, and say, "Let's go out and get a little air during the recess."

We get a car and we drive all over Chicago, and we talk about kings and cabbages, and so on.

Bear in mind that the Taft people, maybe Bill in the back of his mind (I don't know, you'll have to get this from Bill) knew that the Taft people wanted him for their candidate for vice president. So we talked with him.

Kerby: Were you driving around with Senator Knowland to persuade him to second the nomination of Nixon for the vice president?

Faries: We didn't talk with him about that!

Kerby: Well, what was the purpose of this drive? I'm not clear on this.

Faries: To give him a chance to react, a chance to think and take his mind off a lot of things.

Kerby: I see.

Faries: Bill's shirt was wet as the sheet before you put it in the dryer. He goes back to the apartment. He comes back in a clean shirt, and makes the nomination of Dick for vice-presidential candidate.

II EARL WARREN'S APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT

A Sudden Vacancy on the Court

Faries: Later on, when Chief Justice Vinson died, making the first opening for a member of the Supreme Court to be appointed, I talked with his father, J. R. Knowland. (Bill, at that time, was in Chungking.) It was a great surprise to everybody that Vinson died first; he was a younger man than a lot of them, and so on. Some of the others were not in too good health.

I am getting ahead of myself, because I knew before from Bill (you can verify this from Bill, and I prefer that it be verified before it goes into the record, definitely) -- Bill was the representative of the west, you might say, and maybe the Senate, on the Eisenhower special train from which he campaigned. He had an important place on that train. He and Eisenhower agreed he told Eisenhower that Earl Warren would like very much to be on the Supreme Court of the United States. In fact, some of us had understood earlier in the campaign, and perhaps before it that that had been the general idea. Understand, we had nothing to base it on, that Earl Warren's ambition was to be a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. I am inclined to believe that he wanted to be president first. However, I'd like to add, almost any lawyer would like to be on the United States Supreme Court.

Anyway, Eisenhower agreed with Bill Knowland, that he, if the opportunity arose, would put Warren on the Supreme Court. This is the story that I got, as I recall it, from Bill -- maybe it was from somebody else.

Faries: All right. Bill Knowland is in Chungking. Vinson dies. It was protocol then, and bear in mind I think that the national committeeman of the state was more important than he is now because the national figures to come into the state were all required to be cleared with the national committeeman before they were allowed to come in. The national program, the spokesman of it in the state, was the national committeeman. The finances for the national committee all were under the control of the national committeeman and so on. Nobody would be appointed to any important national post without the approval of the Republican national committeeman. (The senator from that state was asked first, if he was of the same party.) Second, the national committeeman. The third was the state chairman. The fourth was the chairman for the district that he came from. That was the order of command and we kept to it pretty rigidly. National policy in the state was made through the national committeeman.

So the filling of that vacancy, therefore, was primarily a matter for Bill Knowland, first, he having had these conversations with Eisenhower, and secondly, he being the man who normally would make the recommendation for the state.

J. R. phones me and he said, "Earl is pacing up and down."

I said, "Why?"

He said, "Because Bill is over in Chungking, and isn't back yet, and he wants that chief justiceship if he can possibly get it."

I said, "Well, I wouldn't blame him." I said, "Where is Bill, on his way back?"

He said, "Well, he'll be in Cairo tomorrow. He will phone Eisenhower from there, and then he'll see him as soon as he can get back."

I said, "What do you think about it?"

He said, "I think he'll support Earl for it and Eisenhower will go for it (the chief justiceship).

It happened that the next day, I think I was eating lunch with somebody at the California Club in Los Angeles and Chester Hansen, who was assistant to, and then, I

Faries: think, followed Kyle Palmer at the Times as chief political writer, called me over out of the dining room, and he said, "I'll bet you a hundred dollars that Earl Warren doesn't get the chief justiceship."

I said, "What do you know that I don't know?"

"Oh," he said, "I know the background," and he said, "I'll bet you a hundred dollars on that."

"No," I said, "I won't bet you a hundred dollars on it because I'm just a little boy and I don't make bets on these things." I didn't tell him what I knew. But anyway, I finally bet him ten dollars, I think, on it.

So anyway, Earl was still walking up and down. Bill flies back and sees Eisenhower. Eisenhower sent Herbert Brownell, who was his attorney general out here. He spends a day in Sacramento with Earl Warren and others. Who-all he talked to, I don't know. What they said, I haven't the slightest idea.

Herb Brownell came down to Los Angeles, and we discussed Earl Warren's appointment and other matters (lesser appointments of California persons who were under consideration) -- as I recall, it was for breakfast in his room at the Biltmore.

Warren's appointment was not a final decision yet; he was going to go back to report to Eisenhower.

Fry: Were other possible appointees discussed?

Faries: I refuse to discuss that now.

Warren's Background: Liberal and Conservative Influences

Faries: Nobody among us had any idea that Earl might, in the parlance of some people, switch back to the thinking of his childhood and of his father with his Swedish background and some of those things, or the problems particularly with the California State Medical Association, and so on. Well, he was a good, hardheaded candidate for the Supreme Court, and, contrary to what a lot of people said, pretty well-grounded for a

Faries: Supreme Court Justice, having been a top-notch district attorney and state attorney general. (He was a good prosecutor, and so on.)

So, we passed him, we'll say, very definitely.

Kerby: I want a little elaboration on what you just said. When you say, "None of us thought that Earl Warren, at that time, might switch back to the views of his father" -- I would like for you to elaborate on that.

Faries: All right. I'll elaborate on it. I thought that I talked about that to Mrs. Fry, but anyway --

Earl Warren's father was a Swedish immigrant. His mother, I think, was a Swede. He was conceived in Ohio, I believe, and born in Los Angeles down on Ann Street in a little old house -- I've been in the house. The time I was in it, it was occupied by a Chinese family, nice people. We should perhaps have saved it. But anyway, it is now part of the area down where Carnation Creamery is -- car lots, and so on.

His father got work with the Southern Pacific as a car builder. You find some of this in Irving Stone's book on him.

Kerby: Yes, and in Mr. Katcher's book.

Faries: I read only a digest of it.

But either in 1907 or 1913, I think it was 1913, anyway along in there, in 1911, there was a big strike here, perhaps much earlier.

[Interruption]

Faries: It was a strike, as I recall, of the railway people, and a strike, I believe, at the same time of the ironworkers. I remember as a kid, because I lived down in Highland Park and our streetcar was out by the iron works and the railroad yards, seeing the policemen on horseback riding through the crowds to try to get them to disperse and beating them over their heads with their clubs.

The Southern Pacific broke a similar strike in 1894 and Earl Warren's family moved to Bakersfield

Faries: because they were blacklisted, as I got it, anyway, from J. R. Knowland, and couldn't get a job here.

So he goes up to Bakersfield. He gets a job. Bakersfield was a very "union town." He got a job as a car builder up there. He was thrifty and he started buying houses and fixing them up and repairing them and so on. Earl grew up in that family, in that atmosphere.

He first carried papers, he worked as a call boy on the roundhouses; to get the men to get on the job he'd wake them up and so on. He played the clarinet. He got a card in a union band. He put himself through college playing in the band and through the University and so on. He had that background. His father had the thinking, we think of anyway, of the Swedish people, who are quite, even at that time, what we considered considerably to the left or socialistic. The Swedes were socialistic, medical health things and things of this sort. Sweden is very advanced on those things -- if you want to call them advanced.

So anyway, his father became a car builder. Well, his father was a Republican, and bear in mind that from 1909 to and through 1950, the Republican party in California was the sponsor of most of the labor legislation, you might say, more liberal legislation here -- the eight-hour law.

Influence of the Knowlands

Faries: So when Warren gets out of college, he gets in at the bar; he gets a job as legislative counsel for a few weeks, and then he gets to know J. R. Knowland, who had the paper up there, and who, with his family, didn't like the San Francisco bosses. Was it Flynn then, or was it Kelly? Kelly-Flynn, they also controlled the city of Oakland. There was that fight. J. R.'s people were the very conservative; he was against Hiram Johnson, and so on. But Bill Knowland fitted in with the other group to a certain extent.

So he had those ties. The Knowland influence was very strong and very conservative. Bill, who was half-

Faries: way between, not like his father, tied in with and was acceptable not only to the Hiram Johnson group, but to the legislative group -- which is very important because the control of the finances of California and the control of legislature was largely in the Central Valley group of the senate.

There were about three or four of them there, a committee, who could hold up every bill that involved money until they got things straightened out the way they wanted it: Bill P. Rich of Marysville, at the time I am talking about, Ben Hulse of Imperial Valley, and I think it was Hatfield of Merced (in the Valley) and later he was followed by Robinson, who was not, I think, a senator at that time, Ray Robinson.

They were very powerful people in state finance and state organizational politics, as well as trying to work with the California Newspaper Publishers Association, which Bill Knowland's father was in, and which Justus Craemer was the head of. These people all worked with Bill, and he had that control.

[Interruption]

So. Bill and Earl were very close. I remember one time we tried to locate Earl after an election and we found that he was over at Bill Knowland's house listening to election returns. Earl didn't have money or financial background. When he wanted to give a big party in Sacramento and the state didn't have it, he borrowed the silver and so on from the Knowlands. It was a very close friendship, contrary to what a lot of people think. The father, yes. He greatly revered the father, and the father was a very fine man -- super-conservative and all that, but very fine. He owed a debt to the father, but the friendship was with Bill.

I've been in Bill's office, in the afternoons in Washington, and <u>every</u> afternoon there'd be a call come in from Earl Warren, talking about state matters.

<u>Influences on Court Decisions</u>

Faries: These influences -- I don't say it was conscious at all, I don't think it was -- he gets on his own. He's on the Supreme Court, he gets all these letters from

Faries: prisoners and so on who say how they were jobbed, particularly colored people, and sent to the penitentiary. And as he told me (he took the first Mrs. Faries and myself to dinner one night, and Mrs. Warren and Emil Kosa, who painted that picture of Earl over across the hall over here) he said, "We get all these things before us and we have to decide each individual case, and it is natural to consider the equities in that case."

In fact, to digress, he and Frankfurter had it out. The main trouble was, whether when you made a Supreme Court decision you were going primarily into the ethics of the individual case or whether you were guided primarily by the law that you are making for the country.

So he said, "We'll perhaps have to make some decisions that you won't like," (this is the only time I have ever known him to comment on this thing) "and that you people don't need. But we have to make these rulings in these individual cases because of the inequities." And he said this, "It's right in the record, in one case, that the trial judge (in one of the Carolinas, I think it was, my recollection of it) "'Oh,' he said, 'an hour and a half is long enough for a jury trial for any nigger charged with murder!'".

So these things influenced him, his background and so on. So we have him swinging, we'll say, subconsciously maybe away from being influenced by the Knowland conservative thinking to what people now term as liberal. Now I don't think Earl Warren is particularly liberal.. This is my own thinking. I don't think I would decide some of the cases were I in that position, the way he did, or the emphasis that he did; it's more a matter of emphasis. I certainly decide them in accord with the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Earl Warren was the great defender of the individual as against government. Maybe he was right in that. On the other hand, maybe he did not evaluate the attention that should be given to the right of the government to protect itself. But as I've said a number of times when people have asked me about it, maybe in 1984, when it will be necessary, perhaps, if Orwell is correct, for some of us classed as conservatives or economically sound people, are defending ourselves before the courts, we'll be very glad for Earl Warren's decisions in favor of the individual.

Faries: This is my analysis of what people say was Earl Warren's thinking. I don't think it was a change. I think it is something that to a certain extent goes back to his boyhood. I think it's his championing of the rights of the little fellows, as I have tried to give you, going clear back to Hiram Johnson's thinking, to his thinking as a boy who has come up from his father's railroad worker's position, through the strikes and with this background and as a man who has been the representative of the State of California who prosecuted the gambling boats, who prosecuted the union officials who were convicted of the shipboard murder in the Alameda County Courts there, in connection with labor things. He is a man that has seen the situation as he would get it from the thousands of letters that were written by prisoners to the Supreme Court that perhaps some of these people were not getting justice, because the state was allowing the district attorneys maybe to be a little over-powerful. These things have motivated him, which the conservative Republicans did not have in mind, which perhaps Eisenhower didn't have in mind because Eisenhower was a general -- even though he was a lovable general. A general expects that things are laid down and the man below it obeys them.

All right. There's an evaluation, I think it is probably enough for now.

Kerby: That's very fine.

Faries: My analysis is as an observer who has been in a position picture, trying to understand the man. I sit there all day trying to understand what is going on in somebody's mind.

Kerby: It is a very valuable analysis, too.

III THE ECONOMY BLOC

(Interview 2, June 29, 1970, Los Angeles County Courthouse. Interviewer: Elizabeth Kerby.)

Kerby: Today is June 29, 1970 and we continue (if you will) about some things connected with the 1952 Republican convention.

Faries: All right.

Kerby: I spoke to Mrs. Fry since I saw you, about our conversation, and she was very interested in some of the things you had to say about Senator Knowland's role in the California legislature. She thought perhaps you might help us with some questions we might ask Senator Knowland which would describe that economy bloc that you referred to. She thought that, judging from what you said, that you knew quite a bit about that period and that you might have some ideas what we should ask.

Faries: Yes, I do. It antedates the Warren election as governor, the economy bloc does. In 1938, due largely to, I think, bullheadedness on the part of Governor Merriam refusing to consult and having a kitchen cabinet, and his insistence on running for governor. I don't know whether I told you the story. Kyle Palmer told me about it. Did I?

Well, Olson went in as governor. We had, of course, a Democratic majority from the early thirties on [1936]. But we Republicans had succeeded in putting up more acceptable candidates, and we had the cross-filing arrangements, and we had the support of the major newspapers, and so on, so Warren became attorney general in 1938. We had some cash from the prior 1938 election. I was vice chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. There were in the assembly, particularly, and also in the senate, strong-minded, independent and,

Faries: we'll say, fairly conservative Democrats. There was also a "third house" -- there always is -- meaning lobbyists. Some are fine men. I have in mind such people as Allen Davis, who represented the auto club in Southern California, and Craig, who used to be in the legislature, who was the representative, I think, of Pacific Lighting, and this, in turn, represented the gas companies and so on, and the telephone company representative. The greatest of them all, probably, was Will Fisher, who represented the Edison Company. He was the "Dean of the Third House," as we called him.

Well, anyway, they started conversations because they felt, and it was true, that the issues nationally and statewide were often very different. In those days we didn't have much in the way of reliance on Uncle Sam for relief and things of that sort.

So. They felt that the issues in California, we'll say, were such matters as Central Valley power, highways, various comparable local things, where nationally they might have been old-age pensions, relief of unemployment and things of this sort. Therefore, a number of the legislators crossed over party lines, back and forth. Our legislative races weren't decided primarily on national lines, particularly on some of them.

So it was decided, and I was not one of the directly involved ones, to form what they called an "economy bloc," because Olson and his close backers were, we felt, quite "liberal"; shall I say? They were against him on a number of these particularly local things, economic stuff. So they started forming discussions on what was called "an economy bloc." Because I was party-minded, we'll say (vice chairman), and had represented the party in Southern California in the Republican campaign in '38, and was the man who presumably was going to be the next chairman of the Republican State Committee (which I was not). I was called in because I knew these people. Will Fisher was my friend; Craig was my friend; a fellow named McWhinney, who was Fisher's righthand man, and I used to meet at lunch once a month or so, maybe once a week at noon, and we'd discuss these things. Then also I could cross over parties and talk with Frenchy Roberts of the CIO, and others.

So. These things were going on. Warren, no doubt, had some knowledge of it because Warren was Republican national committeeman at this time, and he was <u>not</u>

Faries: getting along too well with some of the monied people of the Republican Party, but he was still Republican national committeeman, and we worked together. Warren raised money, I think I told you, for the California Republican Assembly and others.

But anyway, we'd meet, and we decided to form an economy bloc. So they came to me or talked to me on the phone about getting Southern California (this was hatched in the North chiefly) to put up a certain amount of money to finance the economy bloc.

To make a long story short, I talked with finance people, including Asa Call, who had been chairman of my budget committee, I think, about putting up money and getting somebody to open an office in Sacramento for the economy bloc and to furnish them with telephone time, radio time (we didn't have television), who could write their articles for them, their speeches and so on. I, more than anybody, I think, picked out Ross Marshall, who was political editor of the Herald (the Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express at that time), and they agreed on it.

Ross got from the Herald people a leave of absence, and went up to Sacramento to open an office in the Sacramento Hotel and performed these services. Then Ross asked me to arrange it so these various economy bloc members, whether Republican or Democrat, could give dinners once a week. So, we'll say state Senator House from Imperial County would be the host at the dinner that night. He would invite not only the other members of the economy bloc, but invite maybe the Republican county chairman or the Democratic county chairman that night, and other people to that dinner. Nobody would know that he was not picking up the bill, see. But in our area, we picked up the bill, or we arranged for somebody to pick up the bill. In other words, we paid it, but you'd never know.

Now Bill was in this, see. Bill Knowland was in the legislature.

Kerby: And what was his role in regard to this group?

Faries: Just one of the senators, and he represented a third largest county, Alameda County, at that time. He also tied in with the group. Now the control of the senate,

Faries: as I said before, I think, was in three or four men. In the Central Valley, with the exception at that time, there were two in Central Valley and House from Imperial Valley; it shifted because of the reapportionment. The Central Valley with two, Sacramento and the upper valley -- I've forgotten who it was at that time. It was Hatfield, I think, but I'm not sure; it may have been Robinson or somebody else.

All right. Those people were close friends of Bill's. They controlled the state senate; they controlled the money, we'll say, and held up the money bills and things like that til the last minute. In doing that, of course, they weren't a hundred percent arbitrary -- they talked with Bill and a lot of the other senators on this thing. So that was known to Warren, obviously; it was common knowledge about the state at that time, that's the way it was.

So, in a little while --

Kerby: What year was this?

Faries: This began in '38, I think, early '39, when Warren was attorney general.

So that went on. We started defeating Olson right after he went in. But he had control of the legislature at first, fellows like Bob Kenny and so on. But the defeat started soon after he went in and Bill helped, because Olson did some very unwise things, and some members of his family did, and his friends and so on, and didn't satisfy the people of California.

So then, after this, Bill Knowland went out. He went into the war in '42. If there was a matter coming up which Bill needed support on or even the governor needed support on, Bill Knowland (and I had seen him do or heard him do this) would pick up the phone and get one of those people on the phone.

Kerby: One of those people who was in the bloc?

Faries: One of those three who controlled the bloc, chiefly Bill Rich and Hulse and so on, and he in turn would consult with them. So that it was an inner circle which the general public didn't realize the importance of.

Now, the same thing was true after Bill went back to the congress. Those friendships continued -- with

Faries: them and with others. I have again been present when Bill has picked up the phone and talked to these people, and on a few occasions I have talked with some of them because they knew that I was close to Bill and I held a party position. I've had lunch with these people in Sacramento; we've discussed things at times as to matters of policy. So that there was a very potent conection there which Bill at times used for information, at times used for other suggestions; at times I've even heard him use it (although not as often) for California and for Earl Warren because Earl didn't have that close connection with those people.

Kerby: I see.

Faries: Earl had connection with a lot of the old Hiram Johnson people, who were still alive, because he was, we'll say rather progressive, considered a progressive Republican. Does that answer the question?

Kerby: Yes.

Why were Warren's campaigns so successful?

Faries: The theory in politics those days was that you made your position clear and then you got into politics. Warren had a good system of working his campaigns. He would generally bring in a person who knew nothing about politics and make him chairman of his campaign. Warren held himself aloof from party finances. Working people believed Warren was "from our side of the tracks. He understands our side of the problems."

Warren was always close to the California Highway Patrol. He would get out of his car after a trip and have his picture taken with different officers. The whole state employees organization membership knew he was like that. Once when Warren was at a meeting in San Bernadino someone came up with a picture of this sort to show Governor Warren. It was twelve years old.

IV BILL KNOWLAND, JOE KNOWLAND, AND EARL WARREN
(Interview 3, June 29, 1970

Faries: I can't stress too strongly (in my mind anyway) the close relationship between Warren and Bill Knowland. It was not primarily, I think (as a great many of his critics said and as they said in the first Knowland campaign) the payment of debt to Bill's father. Now it is true that he did owe a debt to Bill's father, but Warren recognized the potential ability and the abilities and the strength of Bill Knowland, and appointed him. So that was not a fair statement.

Kerby: You mentioned the colorful things, like Warren borrowing the silver from Bill Knowland. Was this while he was governor?

Faries: Yes. Yes, he did. Whether he had to or not, I don't know. He did, yes.

Kerby: I see.

Faries: And a lot of things like that. I used to go to Washington. In the last ten months that I was Republican committeeman, I think I was in Washington nine separate times, including sometimes a week at a time. Usually, in the late afternoon, when the senate was quitting, about six-thirty, I'd go over there and I'd wait for Bill. Practically every time I was there, there was a call from Earl Warren. He'd talk with him. In other words, he would call up and they would talk over the problems of California with respect to national legislation -- water and all those things. A very close thing.

I talked with Bill only myself on these same type of matters, and political matters.

I remember one time a lot of people felt that Bill

Faries: was going off on the wrong track on something -- I've forgotten what it was now -- so I took it upon myself to phone to Governor Warren on the thing. I didn't very often bother him, but I called him when it was needed, and he knew that I would. He did not keep constantly telling me what to do. Not that way.

Well anyway, I called him. He thought a while. He said, "Oh," he said, "You know Bill. When the time comes for him to make up his mind, his conscience will tell him what to do, and he'll do it." And he did. That's the way it was.

The same thing was true on the Colorado River water question. They (Preston Hotchkiss, president of the Southern California Colorado River group) wanted to send me back there and pay me to go back there on the Colorado River, certain people here did -- the California -- what do they call it -- it was the water group anyway.

I said, "No, I won't take any money for anything. I've never taken money for a political thing in my life. I am not going to become a professional. That is the best way to lose your position."

Anyway, I talked to Governor Warren, and I went back there to Washington. I walked into Joe Martin's office (he was the minority leader), the head of the Republicans in the senate. He said, after a little while, "What are you back here for?"

I said, "Clarence Buddington Kelland is back here, and he's spending his full time around your office all the time. He lives in Arizona and he's a Republican national committeeman for Arizona, and we're a little concerned about what he might say on the water situation; he might influence you on it."

Joe laughed; he said, "Well," he said, "Go on home and forget about it." He said, "Look, you've (meaning California) sent me ten or twelve of the finest young congressmen we've ever had. I'm not going to jeopardize any one of them for the situation because Bud Kelland, even though he's an old friend of mine who has done public relations work for the national committee." So he says, "Go home and forget about it."

Then I went to see Senator Taft, who was the

Faries: Republican leader, a great friend of Bill's. I said, "Look, we don't understand this attitude. You seem to be going along with Arizona on all these things," and so on.

He said, "Well," he said, "this job is so big that I have to take advice from different senators on different things. On matters affecting the Rocky Mountain area and so on, I generally go on what Senator Eugene D. Milliken of Colorado says."

I said, "Well, that is fine. I can understand that. Remember the Republican party has certain definite positions on boondoggles. The Central Arizona one is obviously a boondoggle if you'll study it. Because putting water on the land in Arizona will cost them at least $1300 an acre to put it on land that isn't worth it. We need the money in the Imperial Valley, and the land down there is $220 to $400 an acre." And I explained it to him.

He said, "Well, I'll look into it."

So I go back and write a report to Warren, a report to Bill Knowland, and when the matter comes up, instead of going to Senator Milliken, it goes with us!

Now that is the way those things work -- the close working with Warren, Knowland, the national committeeman, my going back as the vice chairman of the Republican national committee, talking with Taft, who is the head of the Republicans, and so on. So we had a good working arrangement.

On the other hand, I didn't call Warren on everything. If I thought it was a matter of policy whether I should bother him, or if he thought it was something, he'd call me. But I'll bet you he didn't call me half a dozen times. He didn't ever tell me how to vote. Warren did not do it that way.

The story I've told you about Knowland's conscience, he knew applied to me just the same as it applied to Knowland. Perhaps he was telling me by that little backhand story, you see.

Kerby: Last week you mentioned that there was a considerable difference between the views of J. R. Knowland and Bill

Faries: Knowland, and that Chief Justice Warren, was, although very close to J. R. Knowland, philosophically and ideologically he was closer to Bill Knowland. Right?

Faries: I think so. Now I never could put my finger on what you've indicated is the philosophical difference between Bill and his father.

Kerby: That is what I wanted to talk about, whether you could clarify it.

Faries: But I am satisfied that it was there, and I am satisfied partly because of his associations.

Kerby: Whose associations, Bill Knowland's?

Faries: Bill's, through the legislature and otherwise.

Kerby: Can you think of it in terms of any specific issue?

Faries: [After consideration.] No. I can't say that I can at the moment. Except I know the remnants of that Hiram Johnson group -- and they were very able people, including several state senators, Bill Rich and others. Of the Hiram Johnson group, I am speaking of fellows like Frank P. Doherty, then whom there was no smarter or more incisive thinker than in California in political matters. And Carnahan, Ed Carnahan (I think it was Ed -- who had been lieutenant governor) who was very much with the Hiram Johnson group, who really was the strong, shall I say, comparatively liberal Republican representative controlled from Southern California. They were friends of mine and I heard them talk and so on. I wasn't close to them, but I knew them. Carnahan, incidentally, had cancer, and before he shot himself, he called me over there and wanted me to take over his place in Southern California. I couldn't afford to and didn't. Anyway, Bill was kind of in their thoughts -- at least not out of step with their group. And they supported Earl Warren, too, but Warren was a loner as far as they were concerned. Bill was a better organization man as far as they were concerned, and they considered Bill in their group, rightly or wrongly, as far as I could see.

Kerby: Was public health insurance an issue at this time?

Faries: A little later.

Kerby: What were the issues that you would mention to discuss the difference between the liberal Republican and the

Kerby: conservative Republican in that period?

Faries: You don't remember, but if you found that when Hiram Johnson went in, which was toward the end of 1909 or 1911, he was assistant prosecutor under Francis J. Heney, who then was shot in the Abe Reuf trials; then he was supported for governor, and went in as governor -- this was before Bill Knowland was active -- unless he was a high school debater; and Earl was not active, I don't think, either. They were in school then, both of them, or Earl was, I guess.

The Hiram Johnson forces had a lot of things which were put forward in California which were considered very liberal in those days. When Earl went in, he had a list of things that were comparatively liberal. California was always considered as a progressive state, besides being a very volatile one, which it still is. Earl supported a lot of things when he first went in and this medical insurance was not in it, and I don't remember what those things were. There were a lot of things. There was a whole list of them put on the initiative at the time, and he supported them in the legislature. So did Bill. J. R. [Knowland] ran against Hiram Johnson, don't forget that. So in the minds of a lot of people, whether true or false, he was the conservative of the conservatives, and I think he was, but a very, very great man, lovable man, and a very smart politician and head of the state park commission for many, many years. So, we have that background.

V PLAZA PARK, LOS ANGELES

Faries: Did I tell you about the Plaza Park down here?

Kerby: No, I know it's something you're especially concerned with.

Faries: Well, a group of us had been trying to save the Plaza, w with Mrs. Sterling at the head and I was her attorney.

Kerby: You are talking about the Central City Plaza?

Faries: Plaza Park in Los Angeles.

Kerby: Where the Civic Center is?

Faries: That's right. We were working on that. Every time we tried to get hold of a piece of property, get an option on it, maybe, the next piece doubled in price.

Kerby: When was this?

Faries: Well, the time I'm particularly talking about was in the early '50's -- '48, I guess or '50. Earl Warren was governor. J. R. Knowland was head of the state park commission; we owe it to him. He built up the state park commission.

We decided the thing to do was to make it a state park. Leo Carrillo went on the state park commission. I was one of those, and Mrs. Sterling was among those that suggested he be put on it. Leo was a Democrat. He was a very great friend and supporter of Earl Warren, made speeches for him and so on. We decided we'd have to make it a state park so we could put it through. So we got hold of Jonathan Hollsbaugh from Huntington Park --a very nice fellow -- his wife and several others

Faries: legislators for lunch, and all agreed it should be a state park. But he said, "You know I don't get along with Warren, so you'll have to get Earl Warren's okay on this. But we'll put it through the legislature."

So, we got the Native Sons in, we had the Downtown Businessmen's Association, the County of Los Angeles (the greatest lobbyist on the hoof, and he was very strong with Earl Warren, was Hal Kennedy, who was then county counsel). So we put the bill in the legislature with all the names of all the Los Angeles delegates on it, and some more -- Native Sons, and so on. It went through the assembly. Everybody had cascarones (egg shells filled with confetti] broken over their heads, mariachis playing, things of that sort, and it was a good project.

State Parks wouldn't put up any money. We had to get the money from the legislature. This must have been toward 1950, I guess. A million and a half. At the last minute, in the senate, some valley advocate of Save-the-Redwoods (and I respect him), a member of the senate, changed the bill the last day before it went through -- a few hours before -- so that the money should come not out of the state park fund; but out of the beaches fund.

It went through and when it landed on Warren's desk, Warren was a very straight fellow. He said, "Well, this isn't a beach. We can't take money out of the beaches fund for this. This is supposed to come out of state parks. That was the way it was written."

So he said he'd veto it, and he did veto it. But he sent word down through Hal Kennedy that if the city and the county would match the state on funds, he'd put it in the next budget. So through Fletcher Bowron, who was a friend of mine and the mayor, we had the city raise $375,000. The county, through Supervisor John Anson Ford, who was chairman, I believe, at that time, did the same thing. Ford's been a very fine man and active in it. And Warren put $750,000 in the state budget, put it through, and we had the park. That's the way. J. R. Knowland was the head of the state parks commission and Leo Carrillo was on it. I brought it through the legislature, we'll say, with the assistance of Hal Kennedy, the Dowtown Businessmen, and so on, and it wrnt through the senate with the assistance of the Native Sons and these various people that were friends

Faries: of Bill Knowland let it go through: Senators Hulse, Bill Rich, and so on. And, we got it.

Kerby: How do you regard the present proposal regarding that park, to turn it over to private enterprises for development?

Faries: That is a falsehood. A lot of people have gotten off on a tangent, and I don't understand how they did. I know the two people that do the talking; they're good people, but their accent is all wrong on it! That is state property. The proposal has always been, since the start of it, and that's in the order, that it is to be a living memorial not a museum, as Olvera Street is presumed to be and as we have been running it to be (and I am chairman of the board down there), a non-profit thing. The biggest financial support of Olvera Street, El Pueblo, is from Los Angeles State Park Commission, of which I was president for a while. They are living on us.

Kerby: I don't understand. What is the full plan?

Faries: All right. Now, nobody is planning, has ever thought of making a "Disneyland" out of that, or a thing other than presumably a replica, a living memorial of the area as of that time. There is a master plan on that subject which has been adopted, which will be enlarged. Now there are three things that can be done. One is, to make it a museum with replicas of the furniture and so on of that time, and conduct tours for people to say, "A few people slept in this room, and this was where the bar was, and this is the menu that they had (and so on) at that time." Which has some value. We have rooms of furniture now; we can get lots more, and lots more artifacts.

The second is, if the legislature and the city council and the county board of supervisors will appropriate the money, the commission can finish it themselves. Because, conservatively those two areas that they are talking about would cost between two and three million to put into operation. You could not get, at the present time -- and I see no immediate liklihood in the future -- the legislature or city council or the board of supervisrs, or all three of them to put up that money. Therefore, you either have to follow two routes. One, you go to the public on a drive to raise a few million dollars.

Faries: Or, you try to get a concessionaire, who in turn maybe would put out sub-concessions, to do the work on a long-time lease, at which they would by reason of low rentals charged them put in the two or three million, trying to run it in accord with plans that have heretofore been adopted by the people, including some of those that hear the stories in the newspaper. The contract would have to be (after being written and accepted, and the people agreed to put up the money) approved with controls by the city and the county and the state, with the advice (as they have it) of historians of the area. So that to me, there isn't the slightest danger that you would make a honky-tonk place out of it.

Kerby: I think the reason why people are opposing it is the kind of thing this same company runs down at the harbor -- which is a honky-tonk place on sort of a high-class basis, but it is nonetheless shoddy goods for sale at high prices to poor people that are looking for recreation, and it's too bad. I think that people are afraid of that kind of thing.

Faries: Yes, well, it may be, and those things must be watched. But to me there isn't any primary danger of anything of that sort.

I'm a member of the group that runs Olvera Street, and we have cheap stuff down there. But very little, nothing to compete from Japan with real Mexican imports. We have those people down there who are independent merchants; we do not let out those booths to some Japanese, or something of that sort, we've got to have things within the range for the school children to buy. You cannot sell 100 % quality type of merchandise to pedestrians on the street. People go down there, and they buy a couple of tacos, and the kid buys a piggy-bank or something of that sort.

Now, on the other side, it was supposed to be high-class on the south side there, like it was in the old days. So that if they have a shop over there (and I have discussed this) it should be a silver shop or a leather-goods shop, or something of that sort. The restaurants should be a restaurant in keeping with what they had in those days. And a Chinese temple, like the Chinese temple they had in those days.

So if I were Mr. Talashea (this is not for publication) I would throw up my hands and say, "These people are impossible. I wouldn't deal with them." But nevertheless,

Faries: he has been very fine, and he's still talking about it -- whether he will or not, all right. Because he has our picture, I have sat in meetings with him on this thing. "It cannot be that way, and it mustn't be," but I think that you have to trust the city and the county and the state to follow the Master Plan and do it! After all, they're interested in the history of the place, too.

Now, the third alternative is raising money from the public. We want a lot of little shopkeepers that will follow what's requested and be like the Chinese and Mexican-Americans, and so on. Don't forget that this was 1870 when this thing went through. Now we've been sitting on it for quite a while. And a very fine man and some others would head a group to go out and get the finances. When you get finances in this town, like anywhere else in California, you have to have the big names in town. You just can't do it unless you've got them. I've tried it, both ways. We have them. I say, "we," I mean the "Los Amigos" group and the "El Pueblo" group, and I can name names. We are all sitting on them at the present time to see if something satisfactory is working out here.

The big fight has been primarily with a few of those people as to whether we should move what they call the "Rochester House." The majority on the commission and a good many others, even though the commission indicated at the start that they would approve it, think that moving in something not of the Mexican-American period, not historically and architecturally good, would cost a couple of times as much to move it on there as to rebuild, and it would be out of keeping with the tradition that people have and why must people go there. That's where the big fight is, and that's where a lot of the opposition is, from those people that are supporting <u>that</u>.

I favored taking that stuff and a couple more places like that, putting it over in a different area, building it so that people who wanted to could patronize it, and I think it would be fine,too. You could see how houses were when Grandmother was a girl, and the geraniums they used to grow and the privet hedges, and so on, of that day. That's fine. I'm for it. But that is a synthetic bringing back in of something, and they have been fighting about it to the damage of the whole project, which isn't completed. It's gotten

Faries: out of proportion in people's monds, and they've gotten so that they don't get along.

But it is very wrong to say that the commission down there and so on, are planning to turn this over to a honky-tonk type of thing, because I don't believe they'd ever do it. These restorations are being done all over the world. I talked with Coldwell Banker people here, and they sent three men, I believe, to Europe. They are doing this in Turin in Italy and various other places to restore things so that tourists will go and see them, and they are doing it to have the people live as they did in times of the Medicis or a little after that, and so on. That is what the plan is to do here. The plan is not to have a honky-tonk sort of thing.

Now we've had to lift ourselves by bootstraps on Olvera Street, and, not considering depression or depreciation -- all of which goes over to Plaza Park -- and they use it -- we're making over $7,000 a month net, after operations. They are living on this. Now we had to lift that by our bootstraps. We raised the money to re-do that over where the Bank of America is, $125,000 roughly. We raised $125,000 toward rebuilding that where the Latin-American Mart is. We raised and turned over to the commission (before the commission the joint powers group) some $77,000 from the Olvera Street group which did the engineering and the original plans on the Pico House in the Los Angeles State Historical Park. That all came out of earnings and we are still doing it with earnings. And we want to do more, but we are being held back at the present time by the friction there of some of these people that are well-meaning, but don't get things done.

I am way off the line, but anyway --

Warren didn't have any of those things in mind, nor did Knowland at that time, but in the Plaza restoration, he was cooperating. You have to bear in mind, incidentally, that Warren was born within a mile of there, about. Not that that had anything to do with it; but he was very cooperative. He was interested in the project definitely.

VI WARREN SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION

The 1936 Uninstructed Delegation

Kerby: Do you think that we have on tape now everything that you wanted to say about the '52 convention? I got this out again [giving him list of topics] to see what appeals to you. In your previous conversation with Mrs. Fry you indicated you might want to talk about some of those things.

Faries: Thirty-six, of course, was the year of the uninstructed delegation to the Republican convention. It was the fight between the super-conservative vote, which some people thought dated clear back to Southern Pacific days -- the Merriam group as we called it -- and the group that was not for Merriam which Earl Warren was active in. He was elected Republican national committeeman by that delegation. That delegation was engineered by such people as I mentioned to you, Frank Doherty, Carnahan -- Carnahan was the fellow that dug up most of the delegates around our area, at any rate. He had been in the P.U.C. and was one of the Hiram Johnson backers. Doherty is still alive. He's up in the eighties, a tremendous man, very incisive he was. He always cut right to the point. He was Hiram Johnson's manager for two occasions, very friendly to .

See, things were done, again, upon a personal basis.

[Phone interruption]

Faries: So Warren and Bill Knowland sort of went into that. I don't remember where J. R. was.

Health Insurance

Faries: Earl Warren, as governor, one of the first problems he had was, and I don't know the details, maybe people up north can tell you better -- Charlie Blythe was the sort of the financial head from a Republican political standpoint, of the San Francisco Bay group -- financial chairman.

San Francisco finances were always controlled. They used to call them the "Big Five," which changed quite a bit from time to time. I think I told you about their publicizing Warren, didn't I?

Kerby: Yes.

Faries: Well, Charlie Blythe was still the head after Warren became governor. Problems came up over the San Francisco Bay Bridge bonds, as I recall it, with respect to the insurance on the San Francisco Bay Bridge. Earl didn't give things to friends as such. He gave them to the highest and best bidder. Never got himself involved with the possibility of giving friendship any basis in those things. Some problems arose with Charlie Blythe, and I don't know the details.

Then thereafter, you see (and this I have verified with J. R. Knowland), one time when he was attorney general, as I recall, Earl Warren was very sick. He was laid up, let's say for eight or ten weeks, maybe that long. He had a wife and several children. He had very little outside money. His father may have had comparatively small income -- not probably what a lot of people think. He had a sister that needed to be watched over too, I guess, financially. And according to the information that I get, Earl said to himself, "Suppose I was on a job and my salary didn't go on; I had to support myself and my family. What would I do? What would the average person do? Exhaust all they have and mortgage their house and their children's future." And so on. And he remembered his father, who went back to the Swedish days, and their ideas.

So he came up with this idea of "catastrophe insurance," shall I say, which was to cover this type of catastrophe, a person having cancer, heart problems, and things of this sort. The doctors didn't like it, that is, the California Medical Association. They

Faries: hired Clem Whitaker, who is an expensive operator, and his wife, Leone Baxter, who were very good at campaigns, and whom I knew, and I like Clem. They went out after Earl Warren on these things. Earl didn't back down on it, but with the campaign put on against it and the money expended and so on, and the conservative issue that they mustered, it was defeated. But he never backed down on it. Now this technically was not socialized medicine, at least, according to the British set-up. It was, I chose to call it anyway, "catastrophe insurance." Earl never asked for help, that I know of, from various organizations; maybe he was smart on that. He went at it alone.

Earl and the legislature were never as close as they might have been, although he had good liason officers, good liason secretaries. The first was Burdette Daniels, whom I knew very well and later recommended and Earl put him on the bench. I don't know whether that happened at that time -- no, he first left the governor's office to go to help his brother, who was not well and represented Coca-Cola (his brother was its lawyer). Then Warren put Beach Vasey in there, from the county counsel's office; he is now a judge and I think he's been interviewed on this project here. They were good, honest, solid lawyers and good representatives of the governor. But they were not the intimates of the legislature.

Anyway, Earl didn't get anywhere on that, and he didn't have particularly Republican support. He didn't have general support, other than from a lot of poor people who realized they'd sometimes have that problem. Of course, since that time we have nationally evolved a different scheme, which in some ways goes way beyond what Earl Warren had in mind at that time. So that is the background.

Then, you see, it started to get bad in the Republican party with a lot of those people active, the doctors and so on. You had some in your San Francisco Bay Area finance people who were disaffected. And Cameron, Uncle George, as I used to call him, a very lovely fellow, that through his wife, a De Young of the De Young family, controls the San Francisco Chronicle, was getting inactive, and so on. All this drew away a certain amount of the support that he had in the state matter.

Faries: Nevertheless, in 1952 he defeated the Werdel delegation quite handily. Did I ever tell you Earl Warren's story on that?

Kerby: No.

The Anti-Warren, Werdel Delegation, 1952

Faries: You see, Earl Warren wanted a delegation to the '52 campaign convention. The highly conservative group, we'll say, wanted a delegation which was more conservative than he, who perhaps would go out and support Taft or something of that sort. They finally lit on Tom Werdel of Bakersfield, who was a Congressman, a very nice fellow, a good background to head up the delegation; and they put up a delegation, which had on it a lot of fine, conservative people, including such people as Dr. Fifield who was the head of the First Congregational Church here, and a very fine, powerful, conservative man.

In the height of the thing, Fifield was quoted, by headlines, anyway, in the Los Angeles Herald (or Los Angeles Herald-Express, I think it was called then, Evening Herald) big headlines, as I recall, saying, "The Warren Administration is Corrupt."

Fifield said that, at least that was the headline. It was, perhaps, taken out of context, but that was it. It happened that about the next day or so after that, Warren was coming to town and speaking at the Town Hall, which of course would result in his being asked to answer questions referring to this matter. So he called up my now deceased wife (not my present wife) and asked her to take charge of Nina Warren, because he didn't want his wife questioned, didn't want her to know about all the things that might be gone through at that time. So she took Nina out and they spent the day at various places.

Anyway, when they got around to questioning Earl Warren about this, he said, oh, that reminded him of the story of the bullfrogs. Now what was a story about a bullfrog? Bullfrogs?

"Well," he said, "there was a Texas millionaire went to London. They told him he just must eat at

Faries: some restaurant there (I forgot the name of it). The specialty there was frogs' legs. Their frogs' legs were the greatest in the world." (I think it was Britain, not Paris -- it might have been Paris.) "So he went, and the frogs legs' were marvelous! They were just out of this world! You've never tasted anything like them! So he asked to see the proprietor and he told the proprietor how much he enjoyed the frogs' legs. The proprietor said, "'Yes,' he said, 'it's great advertising, we're so happy we can have them. But we can't get enough frogs' legs to take care of the demand.'"

"'Oh, you can't get enough frogs?'"

"'No,' he said, 'we try everything. We scour the world for bullfrogs.'

"'Waaal,' he says, 'we've got marshes down in Texas. We can give you all the bullfrogs' legs that you want!'

"He said, 'Is that right, sir?'

"'That's right.'

"'Well,' he said, 'if there are large bullfrogs' legs like these are, if you can do it, we'll give you an order for 300,000 dozen.'

"'That's fine. When I get home, I'll get them for you.'

"So he got back to his home and there was an order. Finally he was sent a wire after about two or three times, 'Send frogs so that I can at least have a sample.'

"So he sent back three dozen frogs' legs in a box packed with dry ice, and so on, airmail. And they got back there and he got a wire right back, 'Frogs' legs received. Sample fine, send balance.'

"No answer. Another wire. No answer.

"Finally the man in Texas got a telephone call. 'Hey,' he said, 'we've been planning on these frogs' legs and we can't serve our customers. We're embarrassed. Where are the frogs' legs?'

"The Texan thought. 'Waaal,' he said,

Faries: I guess I was fooled by the noise.'"

[Laughter]

And Warren sat down.

So that was his response to that.

Kerby: A very good response to Whitefield!

Faries: Well, Whitefield was one of them. But he had made these headlines and all. So he won over this very expensive campaign being carried on.

Kerby: Would you place the date of that Town Hall speech as sometime early in 1952?

Faries: It would be before the primary in 1952, I think. That is my recollection, you can verify that.

[Pause]

Kerby: You know, we do have a method of sealing material, if there is anything you want to put on the record and seal for a certain time.

Faries: There might be some things I might have talked a little too much about, but --

Kerby: [Laughter] No, I just thought maybe there might be something you'd like to say that you wouldn't want published --

Faries: No, I don't think of it. I think that you ought to verify all these things as far as you can with Bill Knowland and Earl Warren, because I have never written them down and kept notes. I never kept a diary on political matters. I didn't want to have one in the first place. And I always had a CPA on my accounts, who had to co-sign or counter-sign.

I made one rule. That was that I never wanted anything for myself. In my private practice, I never would take a known, anyway, political client, who wanted for political purposes to use my office or position, and for that reason, I think, I was trusted and allowed to hold the positions that I had. Not because I had tremendous ability, but because I wanted nothing.

Faries: If I wanted to talk with Harry Chandler on the other hand, I talked with Harry Chandler. I didn't talk with some secretary and leave word, and so on, and all the way up and down the line, because they knew I wanted nothing in the way of personal gain, so that I could talk with them.

Kerby: At the end of our last conversation, you made what I thought was a very interesting evaluation of the Warren Court, in terms of its decisions for the rights of individuals, as opposed to decisions for the purpose of lawmaking.

Faries: Yes, the support of the individual as against government.

Kerby: Yes, and you said that you thought that some of shall we say, your co-ideologues do not necessarily agree with you that they might find these decisions useful for themselves -- someday.

Faries: They might very well.

Kerby: Do you think that many Republicans think that way?

Faries: I don't think they think that through, or recognize it.

Kerby: I don't think they do either.

Faries: People as a whole, especially the more conservative, felt that Warren Court decisions were law-making and took up matters that should have been done by legislation. Also, that the decisions were hypertechnical in favor of the accused. To set aside a previous judgement of a man, ten or fifteen years later, and let him out of jail because he said he hadn't been advised of his rights is to me, ill-advised.

But I think we are coming into a situation, at the present time, or we are likely to come into a situation, where mass social movements of people, not primarily, perhaps, along political lines, (unless the Democrats succeed in capturing it) will enthusiastically take up something that may be half-baked.

Let's suppose that tomorrow the radicals get in,

Faries: that a Castro-like movement had started. If they follow the rules set out in the Warren Court decisions concerning the rights of the accused, the procedure would favor the conservative who had been accused by the radicals. For instance, if I should be hauled into court because of my conservative activities as "an enemy of the state," I would be very thankful if they would follow the Warren Court procedures. There would be no forced confessions, and several other rights would be afforded me. I think Warren was the champion of the little man against big government. He is to be very much congratulated on that, I think.

VII EARL WARREN'S APPOINTMENTS OF JUDGES
(Interview 4, February 8, 1973, Judge Faries's house. Interviewer: Amelia Fry.)

Methods of Selection

Faries: I think one of those I mentioned to you in the conference was Judge Beach Vasey, who really knew much more about what went on in the office of the governor, you see, than most anybody.

Beach is still alive and living down in Long Beach. He reitred last year. Whether or not Beach will open up and talk, I don't know. But he knows lots of things.

Fry: We did get one session from him. I don't know whether we should go back or not.

Faries: Well, anyway, he's there if you want to get him.

The second thing is that we didn't have, at least on my interview -- maybe you got it from Beach -- what Earl Warren did when he appointed a judge, or how he did it. Things of this sort.

Fry: Oh yes. Can you comment on that?

Faries: I can give you some comments on that I think might be of real value. Well, the first thing is that Warren had a phobia, if that's what you want to call it, which I think was a good one, that nobody should be classed or thought of among politicians or the public as his spokesman. So that we'll say in 1947 when he appointed a large number of judges (and they were very good appointments) he had a committee to help him winnow them out -- he told me there were eight hundred and some at

Faries: one time -- people that wanted to be judges in Los Angeles County. He winnowed them down to a certain group.

So, everybody immediately said, "Frank Belcher," (who is still alive, by the way, and was chairman of the committee) "is Warren's spokesman. He's the man to go to if you want to be a judge." But the next time it was Raymond Haight, see? Now, that's the way he worked. Also, every man that he was considering for a judge would be thoroughly looked up, and I mean thoroughly. For instance, I had a friend, a former secretary of mine, that worked in the office of secretary to the Retail Merchant's Association, which had all the records of whether people paid their bills and where they banked and all the rest of it. She would call me up and she'd say, "Warren is trying to get information on so-and-so, and so-and-so -- I just thought I'd let you know."

Fry: So, you knew who was being considered.

Faries: So, I knew that Warren had gotten the Retail Merchants to check up on so-and-so, and so-and-so. But one time a group of us, this time when there were eight hundred and some considered, I think it was Ed Shattuck, Bernie Brennan, and myself, and maybe one or two more, were talking with Warren. Shattuck, I think it was, said, "You know, people have the feeling that if somebody is in politics that ends their chance to ever be a judge. Is that true?"

Warren said, "No, but politicians are bound to get mud thrown at them [or something like that], and you've got to always remember that." But he said, "Every man who applies to be a judge, or is recommended, has a file made up on him, a dossier. Then the letters that he has come in for him are considered. And I have an index of all those people, and I also have a digest on each of those people. So, that when the time comes to make an appointment, and I sit down with my secretary to consider it, I go over the alphabetical list (and I have previously read these things as they came in) and I tell my secretary to bring in the files on so-and-so-and so. And she does, along with the digest, and then I go over them thoroughly."

Then, I asked him, "What about these letters that applicants get people to send in to you on their behalf?" He said, "Well, I think that three to five letters is

Faries: a great sufficiency. Because no one should expect a governor to read so many letters."

He said -- and I happened to know who he was referring to -- "So-and-so sent me fifty-five letters. They were from all sorts of people, union heads, a clearinghouse head, bankers, and so on. I just wouldn't consider that man because he hasn't got good judgment. Nobody with good judgment would expect a governor to sit down and read fifty-five letters."

Fry: Warren didn't have anything to do with Clarke's appointment, did he?

Faries: Oh no. I don't think so. Warren was already on the Supreme Court at that time.

Fry: Well, that does impress some people.

Faries: It does, but it doesn't impress Warren, no.

And also Warren said, "When a man has run for the job of superior court judge and been turned down by the people, I would never consider him."

Well, anyway, besides doing them all this way he had this man, Oscar Jahnsen, who later went on the State Parole Board as a checker. He was on for years. He was a very fine man.

Fry: Was he close to Warren when he was governor?

Faries: Very close.

Fry: Sort of a general helper?

Faries: Warren would come down here [Los Angeles] and ride in the parade in the car and Jahnsen would be sitting right alongside of him. He was his personal bodyguard and the closest of friends and so on, along with Jimmy Dean, too. He was almost always there.

But, anyway, Jahnsen would check them out, too. I don't know what all he did. He never told.

Fry: But this was like an investigation, something like an attorney general's office?

Faries: Well, nowadays it's done through the FBI for federal

Closed untilJanuary 1, 1980. Insert page after line 10, page 59, in McIntyre Faries' oral history memoir on January 1, 1980.

Faries: Now, I happen to know on theother hand, which probably shouldn't go in here, that Thurman Clarke turned in such a great number of letters that had a great impression on Bill Knowland. That's how he got in to be a federal judge. Because he had bankers, newspaper publishers, and all those.

I was already on the state bench, when some of us got in touch with him and said, "Why did you put that man in there for?"

He said, "Why, I never saw such a great bunch of recommendations in my life!"

Fry: It was Knowland who said that?

Faries: Yes. At least half a dozen people had called me up and said, "What could I do? I know he isn't fitted for the job."

But not Warren. Warren wasn't impressed by great quantities of letters.

Faries: appointments; that's how every president does it, I suppose. A fellow named McGovern didn't do it right, but --

Fry: For his vice president? [Laughter]

Faries: Yes. But Warren was very careful. Warren made excellent appointments as a whole. In fact, some people say that I'm the only one that was ever active in politics that was appointed.

Appointment of Judge Faries

Faries: The story that I have on that is this: I was very close to Bill Knowland. I'm satisfied that Bill had more to do with my being named national committeeman three times than anybody else, because Bill came to me first and asked if I would, and so on. And Earl Warren had to be the one, you might say, that said it was okay.

I'm satisfied that it came through Bill, rather than Earl. But anyway, Eisenhower went in. It took longer to get a Republican in than I expected. I got into politics by accident in 1934 and it took longer to get the Republicans in power nationally than I thought it would. I never wanted anything. There were two reasons "I got by." One is I never wanted anything. The second is I would never consciously take any political business in my law firm.

Fry: You mention that, I think, on the next to last page of your transcript from our interview last year.

Faries: So, I was persona grata with people, you understand. And Warren must have known they could trust me.

But anyway, after the Republicans got in, Bill Knowland was in the office one day and I said, "Bill start training yourself a new national committeeman." He said, "Why?"

I said, "Because I'm going to get off this job. We're in now finally, and it's costing me a lot of money." Many a day I'd run sixty or seventy phone calls. Except during elections they never paid my expenses to go east and back, and I would do that every

Faries: month about. And all sorts of things like that.

Although I did not take political business other people would say to me, "Well, you're so busy with politics I'm taking my business to such-and-such a person, not because I don't like you but because you're so busy."

So, I said to Bill, "I've got to get busy and do something for myself." He said, "Well, he had talked to me before about the federal bench, which incidentally there was a Democratic block on for eight years purposely.

Bill Knowland said to me in 1953, "I don't suppose you'd consider going on the bench or something like that?" Because although politics cost me losses in time and money but not position, I was making lots more money than I would be making on the bench, even at that.

I said, "The way I feel today maybe I would." Well, about five days later I was in conference and the girl at the switchboard called in and she said, "I know you aren't taking any telephone calls, but Governor Warren's on the phone."

So, I stepped out and he said (by phone), "You know, the legislature is creating some more places on the superior court in Los Angeles. Would you like one of them?"

And I said, "Well, you know I've been in a lot of political battles and it might be embarrassing to you or to Bill Knowland, particularly, and I wouldn't want either of you to be hurt in any way."

He said, "Well, I have a letter from Bill Knowland on my desk."

I said, "Well, in that case if it's all right with you I'll take it."

He said, "All right. It isn't to me yet, but you just go away and forget about it, and when the time comes you'll have it."

So, then, according to Beach Vasey, he said Earl Warren came walking down the hall to his office and

Closed until January 1, 1980. Insert pages 61A-B after line 11, page 61 in McIntyre Faries oral history memoir on January 1, 1980.

Fry: Oh, I heard something about that. Why?

Faries: Well, I'll tell you. There was one new position on our district court that came up and that was when Thurman Clarke went in. Bill spoke to me before Thurman -- this mustn't go in -- went in and he said, "Would you like that job?"

And I said, "Well, Bill, I'd like it, but I think that it's important to the Republican party that you appoint a well-known, well-liked experienced state judge to that job. Let's wait for the next one."

There never was another one in eight years. The Democrats were in control of congress and the senate committees. One day after I was on the superior court a very well-known Democrat came over to lunch and slithered along beside me, and he said, "Would you mind answering a question for me?"

I said, "No, not if I could. I have no secrets." He said, "Well, how was it that Jensen, I think it was from Fresno, got boosted up to the U.S. Circuit Court for our western states?" (He's a very good judge and a very fine man, a friend of Hoover's and a friend of J. R. Knowland.)

I said, "Yes, I'll tell you that because Bill told me. When Bill was going out of office he personally went to Senator Eastland, who was head of the Senate Committee on Judicial Confirmations, and asked him as a matter of personal favor if he would release the hold on Jensen and let him go up. And Eastland said that he would do it as a personal favor for Bill."

So, my Democrat friend said, "I thought it must have been something like that because I thought we had all of you Republicans blocked during all that period." And there were vacancies sitting there, four of them, I think.

People were crying because their cases were getting behind.

It was just oldtime party politics, that was all.

Faries: They weren't going to have a Republican get on that bench, or let the Republicans have a chance to put anybody on. I know that earlier they held them all up until Eisenhower's term ended. Then there were seventy-some appointments ready at the time.

Well, anyway that's all out of Earl Warren's field.

Faries: stuck his head in and says, "Give Mac Faries one of those superior court jobs."

Now, of course, he knew me very well. He knew ours was a good firm. He knew our record was clean and all that. So, it wasn't one that he had to check up from the beginning. He may have checked me up, too, I don't know. But anyway, that's how I went on the bench.

He always had his checkers -- Joe Musgrove was one of his close friends. He checked for him. Frank Belcher checked for him. Ray Haight checked for him. In fact, I checked for him on two or three, and so on. He always checked with a local group. Nobody could be his spokesman. Nobody let on who was under consideration.

He had a complete dossier on each one, a digest on each one. Now, once he turned to Ed Shattuck and he said, "Ed, you recommended Lowell Mathay to me. He was good material for a judge. It happened that I couldn't appoint him at that moment because I'd already gone too far. But, you noticed I appointed him to the next vacancy." You see, he had a memory like an elephant.

When he came down here when his picture was hung in the courthouse -- I think I've told you this -- I gave him the list of all the judges he'd appointed, and the judges that he had appointed that were going to be here at lunch. He looked over the list.

By golly, he just called those people by name. Many of the appointments were years earlier. And maybe he hadn't seen them for six or eight years. He'd recognize them and call them by name.

Fry: About how many was that?

Faries: Forty, I guess.

Now, one time I was back at the American Law Institute. (Talking about Warren I don't want to be too personal on it.) It was about '63 or '64. My first wife was with me and she was very fond of Nina, and Earl, too.

We were never really social, but when Nina would come down they would get together. (She was dying of

Faries: cancer, i.e., my wife was.)

So, anyway he always spoke at the opening meeting of the American Law Institute, which you might say is a select group of lawyers and teachers in the United States in the law game. And I happen to be a member of it. So, we came out of the hall and he had already gone past with a bunch of people. So, I called him and I shouldn't have because it wasn't good protocol. I said, "Hey Earl!" And I shouldn't have. I should have said, "Mr. Chief Justice" or something like that.

He looks around and he saw us and turned around and came back and we had a nice conference. He gave Lois his private telephone number to talk to Nina and so on. See, he's a tremendously interesting man.

I don't know if I told you or not, but I was doing my job following up a meeting in Colton when he was running for vice president when I saw a couple of nice old ladies standing there hesitantly and one of them had a photograph. So, I went over and spoke to them, as was my custom.

They said, "We wonder if we could speak to the governor?" I said, "Yes." So, I called Earl, waved to him, and he came over. This old lady said, "I wonder if you recognize the people in this picture with you?"

He said, "Why yes. That's Ray Riley, who used to be the controller, and was in the legislature from San Bernardino County. It must have been at least twelve years before," he said.

And the other one he looked at and said, "That fellow's name is Hill. He used to be the mayor of Colton."

Fry: Good heavens!

Faries: [Laughter] It was this woman's deceased husband.

Fry: And then they wonder how he got all these votes from all the outlying districts.

Faries: Sure. That story probably ran in the local papers, and all the ladies heard from Mrs. Hill, 'though Earl was humble.

Fry: Yes, of course.

Faries: Well, anyway, I told you all those additional things that came into my mind.

Fry: That's three good anecdotes.

VIII A PRIMER ON PRACTICAL POLITICS -- WITH EXAMPLES

The Johnson, Merriam and Hoover Factions of the Republican Party in California

Fry: I thought what I might do is read you my notes here. There are some you might want to correct parts of, and then we'll just have the typist put this in the transcript with my reading them and your comments on them. That might be the easiest way to do it. Maybe I should preface this by saying that these are my notes on a conversation you and I had about two years ago which was not tape-recorded.

Number one, you were in local politics in Southern California during Warren's race for attorney general, but had nothing to do with it?

Faries: I had no part of it, the race. I was vice-chairman and in charge of something-or-other in Merriam's race for the governor. And Earl ran for attorney general, as I recall. And Olson won the governorship, right?

Fry: In '38. Yes.

Faries: I was in the Merriam race, the Republican side of it, but he didn't do very well. I had a bad candidate there, a terrible candidate.

Fry: You mentioned that you knew Warren first when he was district attorney, and in 1936 when Merriam wanted a delegation pledged to him, and the Hiram Johnson group weren't very enthusiastic over Merriam.

Faries: Yes. The Hiram Johnson group and the Republican assembly group went together.

Fry: And Joe Knowland, although he had been anti-Johnson,

Fry: was also anti-Merriam so this united the Bill Knowland-Joe Knowland --

Faries: And Bill went along. Bill was quite active in that group.

Fry: In the Hiram Johnson group, right?

Faries: Primarily a Johnson group. The two masterminds here in L.A. were H. L. Carnahan, former public utilities commissioner and former lieutenant governor, I think. He was the smart, hardworking lawyer. And Frank P. Doherty, who used to be campaign manager, was campaign manager for Hiram Johnson the last two times. And then there were others. Also the California Repulican assembly got in and Bill was very strong in that.

Fry: And the California Newspaper Publisher's Association tied in with the Warren supporters?

Faries: No, they didn't.

Fry: In '36?

Faries: Well, some of the papers may have. But the association did not. The association was run practically by Justus Craemer, who was later the building savings and loan commissioner under Merriam, or had been, and came to me to try to get the Republican assembly in, and on behalf of Merriam offered me a judgeship and I turned it down.

Fry: To get the Republican assembly in what?

Faries: Into the Merriam camp. And I turned him down.

Merriam's wife's nephew was the one that then went to Ed Shattuck (after I had arranged his appointment to the bench -- this was after Merriam agreed to put Ed Shattuck on the bench) and called him out of a meeting and said, "Ed, I've been trying very hard to get you on the bench. And now I've just succeeded." (I already had it in my pocket.)

He said, "But there's just one requirement that the governor has." (Which wasn't true.) "And that is that you and the Assembly support Frank Merriam." Ed turned on his heel and went back to the meeting and said, "You can go to hell."

I was there. I saw it. They were an honest bunch of fellows. The secretary, i.e. Merriam's nephew, was

Faries: trying to act as though he had bought the California Republican assembly vote. Incidentally, some of us made good a sixty-four dollar check that that nephew-in-law of Merriam put out. [Laughter] That was Merriam's, I guess you would call him, nephew-by-marriage or something like that. So, there's lots of little stories like that.

Fry: So, the Warren "Uninstructed Delegation" had the support, then, of some smaller newspapers and the big three, which was Knowland's Chandler's, the San Diego papers and the Bees, right?

Faries: Well, I guess he had the Bees, I don't know. We didn't call those the big three. We included the San Diego Tribune, which was the -- what's the name of the family that still has it? And they're good people. The San Diego Union and the Tribune. Those, the Times, Chronicle and Tribune we used to call the big three.

Then there were three Bee papers. They were strong for Hiram Johnson, though. I guess they went along and did pretty well by him. The Stockton Bee, the Sacramento Bee, and the Fresno Bee. I don't know too much about that.

Fry: Well, this is to explain how [reading from notes] "after the 1932 defeat there emerged a fine group who decided the Republicans needed new leadership and that Hoover should step aside, and that Merriam should go." So, the CRA was organized and you got into it at that time out here in one of its branches?

Faries: Yes, I did. I was not one of that original group. That was Ed Shattuck and Howard Mills and Bob Craig and Murray Chotiner, etc. He [Chotiner] was in charge of the Speaker's Bureau in '36, I think. Goody Knight went with the Merriam group.

There was a renaissance of a younger group. Ed Shattuck and the Republican assembly were good people, but they were very inept. They, for instance, were saying that we had to take over and the Hoover group had to get out, and so on.

When I went in I found that they were getting their finances and being supported from two sources,

Faries: statewide. Bob Craig, its secretary, was running all over the state in his auto to start the new Republican assembly in the various counties. Five hundred dollars a month was coming in through Earl Warren. He was national committeeman.

Over $500 a month was coming in from Herbert Hoover's group. Here, these fellows were saying these things about Herbert Hoover! [Laughter]

Fry: And this money was for what?

Faries: Starting the Republican assembly all over the state, and getting them going. Ed Shattuck and that group, Franklin Donnell was the treasurer. When I got in I found out where the money was coming from that was supporting it. They were getting $1000 a month to get started, half of which was coming through Earl Warren. He was national committeeman, that was why that half came through him. And the other half came direct from down here from the Hoover group.

I raised $23,000 at one meeting of the Los Angeles -- what was it? Headed by Paul Shoup. [Merchants and Manufacturers Association.] This was in 1940.

Fry: Was all of this 1940 that you're talking about?

Faries: No. This started in '37, this $1000 a month. I know it was true in '38. Here these boys were talking about how they should take over the leadership, see, but the money was coming from the very people they were talking against. In other words, Hoover was such a great man that even though Ed Shattuck (and I could name some associate) and all were going around talking against Hoover's leadership, he and his friends were putting up the money for them to try to start an organization.

Fry: Well, was Warren anti-Hoover?

Faries: Warren was made national committeeman in '36 and the Hoover group was in power. They helped put Earl Warren in. Perhaps some friendships with Hoover supporters cooled.

Fry: Warren was the nominal head of that 1936 delegation.

Faries: That's one of the things that gave him his good start.

Faries: And that was the Hiram Johnson group. The money was still in the Hoover group and the oldtimer's group, I'd say, not the Hiram Johnson group. The Hiram Johnson group had the Oakies and people as a whole because there were so many so-called reforms that they -- So, the story was anyway that Warren soon became a bit, shall I say, "regusted" with the Hoover group and perhaps they with him. But, anyway, I don't know the details on that.

The Campaign for Wendell Wilkie, 1940

Faries: But then came 1940. And I had been promised through Paul Shoup, former head of the Southern Pacific and former head of the Merchant's and Manufacturer's Association in Los Angeles, that if I would be state chairman in 1942 that they would furnish me with a ten thousand dollar high-class secretary that could run all over the state and do things. And I had picked out Congressman Phillips of Banning who had orally agreed to take the job.

The San Francisco group and the Kelly group and the Finn group and the Artie Samish group and the legislative group and the Republican assembly had all agreed that I could have the state chairmanship.

But they didn't put up the money, Shoup and that group. So, I refused and I didn't even go to the meeting. So, I never became state chairman.

Fry: Now, who was supposed to put up that money?

Faries: These Republican businessmen. And they put in a young fellow, and very fine young bright fellow by the name of Thomas H. Kuchel, who had just become a state senator from Orange County, and whose father was the head of the Anaheim paper.

Tommy said to me, "I don't know how to run a campaign, and I'm up here at the legislature." So, Tommy came down to me and said, "You run the campaign." And I took it on. I had a very enjoyable friendship with Wendell Wilkie, who was not popular with our moneyed people down here. His attitude on foreign affairs, his

Faries: party switch, his One World, and so on was not well received by our financiers.

Anyway I was getting nowhere on the campaign. I couldn't get any money, I couldn't pay for the billboards or anything.

Fry: For Wilkie?

Faries: Yes. So, I got on the train, I was going to San Francisco, and I said, "I haven't heard a word from Herbert Hoover in this campaign at all." (This is stuff that maybe doesn't concern Warren.)

Fry: We want the whole political content.

Faries: Well, anyway, I knew I was getting nowhere and I said, "I haven't heard a word from Herbert Hoover in this campaign. I wonder what he's doing?" So, I thought that when I got to San Francisco I was going to find out and see if I could see him.

So, I went up to the office of old Ben Gray, he was then head of the Almond Grower's Association and who used to be the secretary to Hoover. I said, "Ben, I'd like very much to see the Chief." That's what we used to call him.

He said, "Well, he's coming in town this afternoon." I said, "Well, I'm up here at the Palace Hotel to try to resolve a problem between Brad Melvin (of San Francisco, part of the Kelly-Finn-Merriam group, but a nice fellow. It was not part of the Knowland group. Knowland controlled Alameda County, but not Alameda and Oakland cities. Kelly controlled those.)

So, he said, "I'll set it up for you to see him."

So, I went up there because I was the only person who could keep cool of the bunch. The other people were all partisan, Mrs. Van de Water was the national committeewoman from California and so on.

So, I got up there and Joe Martin was the mediator, Congressman Joe Martin who was the national chairman. It was a very hot meeting.

After the meeting had been going for about an hour, Bert Mattei of the Honolulu Consolidated Oil Company, one of Hoover's close friends, stuck his head

Closed until January 1, 1980. Insert page after line 29, page 70, in McIntyre Faries' oral history memoir on January 1, 1980.

Fry: I think I interrupted you when you said Joe Martin was trying to resolve some difference between brad Melvin, state chairman, and Bill Knowland, national committeeman,

Faries: Yes. Because Brad Melvin said the state should (he was state chairman -- elected in 1940) was to run the election campaign. And Knowland said, "No, it's a national election and the national election is run by the national committeeman. (Bill Knowland)

Faries: in the door and said, "The Chief will see you now."

Well, I couldn't leave at the moment, so I went out and said, "Bert, you see what's going on in here. I can't leave this thing now." So, he said, "The Chief's room number is so-and-so, come on down as soon as you can."

I managed to get away in about an hour. Hoover was gone. I said, "Well, I've committed the unpardonable sin. I made an appointment with President Hoover and I've broken it. He's gone."

Ben Gray and I tried all over town to get him. I couldn't find him anywhere -- radio stations, Stanford meetings -- and I gave up finally. I went back to my room about six-thirty, and there under the door was a little note from Miss Samuelson, the lovely little woman that was one of his secretaries.

It ran something like this, "Mr. Hoover understood why you couldn't leave the meeting. He wants very much to see you. This is his private telephone number at his home. Will you try to call him and arrange to go down to his house tomorrow morning and visit with him?"

So, I changed my plane tickets and borrowed a car from Brad Melvin and arranged to leave it at the airport I went down to Hoover's house.

It was about ten o'clock in the morning, I guess. And we sat there and he hung his leg over the side of the chair and smoked his pipe and got out a few Quaker "God damns." I thought, "Wouldn't it be wonderful to live next door to a fellow like this?"

So, he wanted to know why I wouldn't be state chairman, and I told him. He said, "Well, I don't blame you, but you know you could easily pick up $25,000 a year just like that as public relations work."

I said, "Yes, but I wouldn't do it." He said, "I don't blame you." He wanted to know who was going to be Los Angeles County chairman and I told him Ed Shattuck. He didn't appear to like that very well.

And I told him about my political money troubles and so on. He asked me to stay for lunch. I didn't.

Faries: I went back and got my car and went down to and left the airport and flew home.

I didn't go to the office that night, it was fairly late. The next morning about nine o'clock the telephone rang. The speaker said, "This is Ben Page." Well, Ben Page was always one of the big money-raisers in town. His wife was a Van Nuys. He was head of the Community Chest and those sorts of things.

"What are some of those things you need money for?" And I said, "Well, I haven't got the billboards paid and I'm going to lose them if I don't get some money paid on them in a few days."

He said, "How much do you need for that?" I said, "$16,000." He said, "You've got it right now." So, he said, "You'll get some more from me, too."

The phone rang again as soon as I hung up. And he said, "This is Morgan Adams."

I knew Morgan Adams of Mortgage Guaranty Company. He said, "I'm over here working with Paul Shoup. We're getting out the invitations for the Merchants and the Manufacturers unofficial luncheon that's going to be next week."

I said, "Well, what can I do to help you? I don't belong to the Merchants and Manufacturers Association." He said, "I know you don't belong, but you're going to be the principal speaker."

So, they had the Biltmore Bowl full. A thousand men there, I guess. I told about the campaign. That's when I got the $23,000 in the hat, right there.

When that campaign was over I couldn't spend all the money I had. I never heard a word from Herbert Hoover.

Fry: But he had been the one who had worked the catalyst for all this?

Faries: Surely. So, now let's tie it back into your story.

Fund Raising, Northern and Southern California Contrasted

Faries: I made an agreement with Asa Call (who was the man who called more shots for businessmen in Los Angeles than anybody else and almost still does when he wants to do so) that before the next election (he was chairman of the budget committee), we would take a public opinion poll and decide what we were going to do and get a lot of things, as far as public feeling was concerned, worked out. I wanted a properly taken public opinion poll.

Fry: You ought to explain to me where these Southern California figures like Asa Call fit in. And would he naturally have been a Warren person, or on Hiram Johnson's side?

Faries: Neither. Asa was the man who made up the minds for the businessmen for forty years, more than anybody in Los Angeles.

Fry: On what?

Faries: Anything of a political type. Whether it was mayoralty or whether it was giving money to the Republican party.

For instance, Asa got Lee Battson as Republican finance man. And Lee Battson raised $538,000 in one national election.

Dorothy Chandler was the big money raiser at the Music Center here. Do you know who the chairman of the committee was? Asa Call.

We built a new courthouse in Los Angeles. We had a big fight over it for years. Do you know who the successful chairman of that committee was? Asa V. Call.

There is now (1972) what they call a committee of twenty-five. It's too many. That is not so good.

Shortly after Harry Chandler's death -- there came up a smaller group of Asa Call and Walter Tuller and Mendel Silverberg, who represented the motion picture people, and a few others. They were the sponsors of the representative businessmen in the town. Now, they have a committee of twenty-five.

Anyway, Asa Call and that group had $26,000 or more left in the pot there in 1940. We agreed before we did

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Faries: We decided we had to have a different mayor after -- I've forgotten who was in. Fletcher Bowron.

Fry: After Bowron?

Faries: So, there was so many things after Bowron. Bowron was a good man. It was about that time, anyway. So, they had some meetings up in -- those meetings were held in Asa Call's office. We'd meet up there for lunch. And they came up with Norris Paulson and he was elected.

The Mr. Y. on the following pages is Mr. Fleishhacker.

Faries: anything that we would take a public opinion poll. I went up to Sacramento shortly after to the -- not so very shortly, a few months after -- to the legislature about something. It was during the economy bloc times when they were running those economy bloc meetings.

I got a telephone call up there from Charlie Blythe of San Francisco. He was one of the successor group of what we used to call the "big five." They used to run San Francisco's Republican finances. The "big five" was Robert Dollar, Marshall Hale, and two or three others. I'm not quite sure who was in it or not. Then later came this other group with Burt Mattei and Charlie Blythe and that group.

And they would commit. See, down here in Los Angeles no one since Chandler could commit money.

Fry: Why?

Faries: Because they didn't have the nerve, I guess, to do it. But up there that five would say, "Well, we'll put $25,000 or $15,000 into this" and then they'd take their A-list and their B-list and their C-list and for instance, to Mr. Y _____ and say, "Your share is $10,000."

And Mr. Y _____ would say, "Well, I'm in short funds. I can't give you $5,000 or $10,000." And they'd say, "Well, what have you got?" "I've got $2500." And they'd say, "We're sending over for the $2500. You go out and raise the other." And they'd do it. They'd commit.

Down here they didn't commit. So, anyway, I was up at the legislature and I got this call from Charlie Blythe to a conference with Dolan and Jerd Sullivan and a few others.

Fry: Can I ask you about two other names? George Cameron of the Chronicle?

Faries: George Cameron was not always part of that group, but George Cameron was very much in things.

Fry: Steinhart?

Faries: Jessie Steinhart. See this hand?

Fry: Yes.

Faries: He's the little finger.

Fry: Of the five?

Faries: Not of the five. But he was still on the outside. He became one of the large ones later, but he wasn't at that time.

Fry: I see. Murray Draper?

Faries: Murray Draper was active in the Republican assembly group, one of the strongest boys in the Republican assembly group at that time. A very fine young fellow. But he was not of that group of which I speak.

Fry: All right. I think you mentioned to me a name which is completely unfamiliar to me. Jim Mussatti?

Faries: Jim Mussatti was a great speaker. He was tied in with either the Bank of America or some such group. He was the manager, sort of, for the State Chamber of Commerce for years, and a great speaker.

Fry: But not one of these five who would commit?

Faries: These you mention are not the people I'm talking about that would commit, but were the fellows who particularly later did the work.

Five of them, we'll say, would sit in -- maybe including George Cameron and two or three others -- completely unofficial -- eat lunch together at the Pacific Union Club. They'd go out and they'd get Dick Barrett, and they'd call him and in and say, "Here's a room. Here's a battery of telephones. You've got to start the finance campaign, go to work." And he would get on the phone and phone to Fresno and various places to the listed people and say, "We've got to start the campaign, and you start raising money."

And they'd do it not only for this, but suppose the San Francisco Harbor needed some money for dredging. All right. This is an illustration I know of, and I name the person. He came into the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and said, "I can be elected assemblyman

Faries: down there, but I can't raise the money down there." A very nice honest fellow. He was told, "Nobody down here can commit."

He went to San Francisco and they said, "We'll think it over." And in a little while someone phoned him and said, "Well, there will be $10,000 at your campaign's disposal." He was elected. Much to the surprise of the Los Angeles people when it came to spending money to improve the San Francisco Harbor, he voted for San Francisco.

Now, I say they committed without consulting and having the money in hand. Los Angeles didn't do that.

Starting the Campaign to Elect Earl Warren Governor

Faries: Anyway, I got a call while in Sacramento and I went down to this meeting in Charlie Blythe's office and Jerd Sullivan of the Crocker Bank, and some others were there. The only two men from the outside at this meeting were a fellow named J. R. Knowland (Bill's father) from across the Bay, a fellow from an Oakland shipbuilding company couldn't come -- I can't remember his name now, and yours truly from Southern California.

So, they said, "We're going to raise some money to publicize Earl Warren because we think he's the man to put up against Olson at the next election to beat Olson." (He was attorney general.) "We'll put up half the money if you people down South will put up the other half."

Now, this wasn't party politics, technically, but it's practical and the financial control was there. So, I said, "I can't do that. I can't commit. I'm the errand boy. I carry the hod. But I'll find out."

So, I went down and I got hold of Asa Call. I said, "Ace, you know we've got that money in the bank. I had this conference up in San Francisco, what will I do?" He said, "We're not 100% sold on Earl Warren.

Faries: It isn't time to do anything yet." I said, "Well, find out about it and let me know, will you?" Some money went in.

A little while later I got a call from Charlie Blythe. He said, "I think this thing is going to go through, but call again, will you?" So, I called again to Asa and he said, "Well, we might put some money into it."

Once before, we were looking for the man to handle publicity for the economy bloc (that ended the Olson regime) at that time. I'd said to Ace, "Well, who's the right man?" He said, "What do you think of Ross Marshall? (who was then the political editor of the Los Angeles Herald Express) to put up to lead the fight against the Democrats in power. So, to make a long story short, the Hearst people -- it's now the Herald Examiner, but it was then the Herald Express -- released their political editor, Ross Marshall.

Ross Marshall went up to Sacramento, took rooms at the Sacramento Hotel, put out the publicity for the economy bloc, and so on. And the economy bloc which was part Democrats, started beating Culbert Olson and his liberals.

Fry: In the legislature?

Faries: In the legislature. They started that. And they took this money and publicized these economy bloc issues. On one hand you have the third house and so on beating Olson. On the other hand you have some of them financing Earl Warren. Not the same people, perhaps, but some people were connected with both.

So, you had those two things going on. So, then I go to --

Fry: What was your position at this time? Were you state chairman?

Faries: I don't know if I had any position or not. I had run

Faries: the last campaign in Southern California, the Republican campaign, but I had refused to be state chairman. I don't think I had any.

So, I went to Asa Call and I say, "Ace, it's time we took that poll." He said, "Yes, I guess it is. You call up Charlie Blythe and see if they'll put up that half of it." I called Charlie Blythe and they put up half. And we took the poll.

We chose Johnny Knight to run it. He used to be an assemblyman. He was the pollster. We made up a very good poll. It didn't badly give away its intentions.

Fry: Did you select the questions yourself?

Faries: I was one of them that did. It said, for instance, "Are you a Democrat or a Republican?" "What do you think of Olson?" "Do you think he's done a good job?" "If you don't think he has, why not?" "If you do, why?" "What do you think of Earl Warren?" And so on.

There were several other names on it. A lot of things like that, you know. So, we got that apparently innocuous poll. And Earl Warren took it home over the weekend.

Fry: The results?

Faries: Yes. Monday morning he came back to the men up north, as I understand it, and said, "I'll run."

Fry: Of course, from what you told me this was from Charlie Blythe?

Faries: This was handled through Charlie Blythe who was the Northern California finance chairman. But I made the contacts. So, that's how I know about them.

Fry: You told me before that it was $25,000 in the North and they wanted $25,000 from the South?

Faries: Yes. The South only put in $15,000 or something like that. Anyway, I think it was only about $40,000 when they did it, $43,00 or something like that.

But this is telling you how Earl Warren got started for governor. Now, those people who were not Hiram Johnson-minded, particularly, we'll say, in the past, who were the moneybags, however, went for Earl Warren for governor because Culbert Olson had done some of the most horrible things, and was a Democrat, too. Or, he had allowed some very bad things to happen.

Organizing Political Support in Southern California

Fry: I was wondering if these were all Republicans in the big five and in the money group down here? Or were some of them Democrats?

Faries: Well, there might have been a few Democrats, but it was in complete Republican control. Practically all the big men in both San Francisco and Los Angeles are Republicans, with the exception of a few, comparatively a few, like Henry McKee and John B. Elliott in Los Angeles, and a few others.

Fry: They were Democrat?

Faries: Yes. But there were a very few. We didn't have a big five down here. By that time this group of Asa Call and a few other were running financial guidance of party disbursements, but we had to continue -- Keith Spaulding was one of them down here.

You had to keep on adding financiers -- other groups such as the people in Hollywood didn't give a damn about the growth of downtown Los Angeles, you know. It could die for all they cared. The retired people had to have a representative on the final financial committees. The bond houses and all should

Faries: have a representative. The independent oil people needed to have a representative. The large oil people had to have a representative.

So, when you went to start a campaign, by that time, it wasn't like the old days when Harry Chandler could call a group into lunch and raise the money. You had to have something on the side of your letterhead so that they knew that their group leadership with integrity was in there.

Fry: This had to be a coalition of all the aspects of the business community?

Faries: That's right. If you wanted to get the independent oil people, who were sometimes hard to work with, but very good -- that was Keck and a Universal Consolidated man -- I can't think of his name now. But there were a lot of people like that.

So that by that time while these people could pretty much raise the Republican money, on a lot of things you had to get in all these other people, and you wanted those names anyway. If you wanted to raise big money you had to have all those names.

Fry: And you mean some of them were Democrats?

Faries: A few. The public, as a whole, was Democrat. But the money was Republican, primarily. But the public had more confidence in the ability and the integrity of Republican leadership.

Also, at the legislature you had to have the good lobbyists, and they were all friends of Bill Knowland. And there were some very fine good lobbyists.

Fry: What do you mean good?

Faries: Honest. Effective. The people that merely didn't want cinch bills. The people that wanted the legislators to vote honestly. All they wanted was to be let alone and allowed to do business, like the Southern California Edison Company, Will Fihser and people like McWhinnie, Ted Craig, and Elmer Bromley. People like that. They were fine, honest people. Allen Davis represented the Auto Club, Allen and these kinds of people was as straight as

Faries: a string, and so were all these other people. They didn't pass money under the table. They didn't lose at poker to help the boys (the legislators) or anything of that sort. They were honest.

And Bill Knowland was friends with a lot of those honest people and they were friends with him. Bill was very close friends of the "big three" state senators that ran the senate and controlled the bills of the senate; they held them all up until they got what they wanted.

Fry: Who was that? I don't think we have that in your other transcripts.

Faries: I don't know whether we do or not. Primarily it was Hatfield, Rich, and a little later, Hulse. Somebody else had it before Hulse. Then Hulse came in from the Imperial Valley.

Fry: We do have that in your other transcripts. Yes.

Faries: But they were all very fond of Bill, very close and very fond of Bill. They all wanted to get what they wanted for their communities and California.

Fry: Let me ask you something. I have two questions. First, you're saying by this time you had a "big five" down here and --

Faries: We didn't have a "big five." Never had a "big five." We had a group that would make the political and financial decisions for most people.

Fry: Asa Call?

Faries: Yes. Walter Tuller, Mendel Silverberg and others. I saw Mendel Silverberg raise $50,000 from the movie people at one time, in one day.

Fry: And the time you mean when you say "by this time" was after Warren was elected for his first term, is that what you mean?

Faries: No, it began before that. It began shortly after the 1938 debacle. The 1940 debacle too. But it began before 1940.

See, these people were doing things for their state and community and not primarily for the party. The

Faries: same with San Francisco, they were doing things primarily for San Francisco and California. But when it came to an election they and the newspapers and publishers association got together on it.

You've got a committee of twenty-five, we'll say, working together in Los Angeles now. And they're very unwise because they let that story out.

Fry: There is a committee of twenty-five?

Faries: Yes. And they're very unwise because they had their meetings at the California Club, which is anathema to most people.

Fry: Why?

Faries: Because it's money.

Fry: Oh, it means control and --

Faries: Appears to be control by big business and money. You should never let it be known that there's a committee of twenty-five and you should never mention the California Club. You should meet quietly at the Biltmore or something like that.

Fry: In other words, they weren't as discreet as, for instance, the "big five" in San Francisco who were able to just operate independently and make up their minds on what they wanted?

Faries: The North had their lists. They had their man. They'd tell him to start to work and commit before they went out and called persons and said, "Send your money over."

Fry: What do you think it was about Earl Warren at that point that made them select him?

Faries: The main thing was he could be elected.

Fry: Because he proved himself in '38?

Faries: '36 and '38. He looked the part. (Olson looked the part of a governor, too.) And they didn't think that Warren would later, as I put it, return to his family way of thinking. He was a good district attorney. He was a good attorney general. He made good appointments. There never was a scandal connected with Earl Warren or any of his groups.

Faries: All they wanted to do was to be let alone. They had ability. They had money. They had position. What did they want? They wanted to be let alone. They wanted solid good legislation, honest legislation.

Fry: As Warren's term as governor progressed, who among these men fell off his bandwagon, as things like health insurance and --

Faries: Well, the health insurance was one of the first things that started it. Part of it, of course. Then there was this hassle up North which I didn't know what it was about.

Fry: Oh, that was when Charlie Blythe couldn't get --

Faries: He became disaffected, he and his group too. Then, the doctors hired Clem Whitaker and they spent an awful lot of money.

Fry: Do you know specifically if any of the Southern or Northern moneybags dried up?

Faries: Well, when the -- before the Eisenhower campaign, much of the money down here, I think, and this is purely rationalizing, was not for Earl Warren. But they were for keeping California, you might say, under their financial fingers and in Republican control. And they would not give Warren the man that he might want for the Republican finance chairman.

Fry: In the state?

Faries: In Southern California, anyway. I think Tom Mellon did a pretty good job there up north. Charlie Thomas was in the South here. Charlie had some ties with the Bank of America. Charlie was an enthusiastic, comparatively liberal money raiser, but he was not entirely one of the old money group, or their man, you might say.

Fry: Was this for the Eisenhower campaign?

Faries: Yes. But it started before the Eisenhower campaign. It started after the war, near '48.

You see, these fellows were not primarily politicians. It was not their desire to effect politics. They didn't

Faries: get a big thrill out of it, most of them. It was just that they were seeing something that had to be done and were going ahead and doing it.

The 1948 Dewey-Warren Campaign -- How Not to Win in California

Fry: I think you've covered everything here that I had in my notes. Except one more thing, the 1948 delegation. Now, you were on the executive committee. Was that the executive committee of the Republican national committee?

Faries: Yes.

Fry: And this was when Warren was chosen to run with Dewey as vice president?

Faries: Yes.

Fry: And you had three floors on the Warwick Hotel in Philadelphia?

Faries: That's right.

Fry: Now, this is something you haven't touched upon at all.

Faries: We also had some rooms in the Bellevue Hills. But that was where the convention actually was run from. I had charge of the tickets in the hotel.

Fry: I see. Does this mean that you were also the Republican national committeeman in California?

Faries: That's right.

Fry: The main question in the minds of people who might be writing about Earl Warren is the conflicting reports of whether Warren went to the convention resolved not to give in to pressures to run for vice president or not?

Closed until January 1, 1980. Insert page after line 3, page 84, in McIntyre Faries' oral history memoir on January 1, 1980.

Faries: For instance I would get hold of Ace, say I would call his office and say, "Ace, we need money to do this," or something of that sort. And Ace wasn't there. So, I told his very nice secretary about it. She would say, "He'll get back to you this afternoon." And he always would. He usually did what I asked from him. He was a wonderful citizen, still is. He's now around eighty years old.

But in the meantime, she had told him, and he had called Ed Carter of the Broadway Department Store, and he called Mendel Silverberg of the movie people, and he called Preston Hotchkis and perhaps he had polled those people (but, he never came back to me and told me he had polled those people. But I knew he had). Norman Chandler and so on. So, that's the way he operated. All this probably should be sealed until I'm dead. [Laughter]

Fry: I was going to ask you if we couldn't put a date on some of this.

Faries: Some of it shouldn't come out now. Because somebody could make some nice stories out of some of it.

Fry: Yes, I can seal some of it.

Faries: I don't know. But I think he was so resolved, but I don't know. I heard that said by his folks in his office at Philadelphia that he would not under any circumstances consider the vice presidency. But I never talked it over with him. Strategically, it was the best position for a person that even hoped to be the vice presidential candidate.

I think it was a balancing attempt. If this fellow Dewey had been any kind of a western type (and I liked the fellow personally) candidate we could have carried California easily.

I could sit here for half an hour and tell you the mistakes that he made, personally. How do you expect to get the Hollywood writers when you leave an hour earlier than scheduled and your little guard takes you back to the train and shuts the door on the hand of the secretary of the Hollywood writers and smashes her hand? How do you expect to win the Central Valley when you don't even say you'll consider the Central Valley Water Project and the 160-acre limitation?

How do you expect to win Los Angeles when we set up eight thousand people for you at the Coliseum and then you come in and make an entirely different speech from the one you've given us the copy on? And talk about things that you think the oldsters of California should have, when we know so much more about the oldsters and the McLain group and so on than you do, as the candidate? It was just full of those things.

He was an impossible candidate. But a nice guy. The very last thing, after his man shuts the door on the hand of the secretary of the Hollywood writers, he goes back to the train and promises us en route that he will have his picture taken with the California Highway Patrol. Earl always did. They were very good friends of his. Trick riders, they were wonderful fellows. He promises he'll have his picture taken with them when he got back to the station. He gets to the station

Faries: and walks off and gets in his private car. He had a full hour. He leaves them all there. He never poses or speaks to them or says, "thank you."

You've been around here a long time and you know that the California State Employees Group is a pretty homogeneous group. He lost California by twenty-six thousand or something like that.

Fry: Yes.

Faries: Any one of the incidents, and I could name more, were enough right there to defeat him.

Fry: Were you at all involved in the campaign? Were you on the campaign train?

Faries: Yes. That's another thing Dewey did. In the San Joaquin Valley here, Ed Shattuck was state chairman. Dewey was busy in his little room and he didn't even invite Ed Shattuck in. I finally had to go and get Ed Shattuck invited in. And Ed Shattuck was hotheaded, he said, "To hell with him!"

Oh yes, I remember what it was. Did you ever see this book?

Fry: No.

Faries: It's coming out again this year. Who's Who in American Politics, second edition. I was in Who's Who in America for twenty years, I think. But that was because I was national committeeman, and judge.

Fry: I wanted to ask you to give up the list of the dates of your offices in the Republican party. Now, will that be in there?

Faries: That will give you most all of it.

Fry: Because Who's Who doesn't give the date.

Faries: Bowker's book is fairly accurate.

Fry: One of the things I was going to ask you was where can I get the names of officers of the Republican party in California for subsequent years?

Faries: I don't know.

Working with Special Groups

Faries: I get so discouraged, and still am, because people are so inept. Politics was one of the things I was always sure I could do. I guess I had too much confidence in myself.

In 1953 when I resigned, I had a whole filecase with names of workers and Democrats you could count on, and Hungarian-Americans, various groups and so on, and I took the State Central Committee chairman and another Los Angeles county chairman to lunch. I told him how I thought such people and the file should be handled and how I was handling it, and so on, and asked their support on such policies.

Fry: With these respective groups?

Faries: Yes, and various similar things -- newspapers, groups, who the leaders were, and so on. Thousands of names. And I turned them over to them.

About six months later Eisenhower was coming out here. They had a big section down in front where they were going to put all the ethnic groups. They didn't have any names or anything. I said, "Well, what did you do with them?" "I don't know. They're gone." Somebody got them, I guess. Or they just dumped them out.

So, then Mrs. Faries got busy, and George Murphy asked her to, and she got the Auto Club and fixed the

Faries: routing and she got the group of Democrats, publishers of small papers, etc. as best she could, and so on. And many of those people were mad as hornets for not having been consulted since election.

They hadn't heard from anybody since the election. They said (for instance), "We're Hungarians but Democrats, and we support you with our paper." Or, "We're Italians and we spent weeks working every day for you." "We had a long list of supporters and we haven't heard anything from you." "You used to every month have a dinner, and we'd pay for our own meals, but you'd bring in a speaker or something like that for us." Times changed after I left. See?

Many years later the rest of my papers, and lists of who went back to the inauguration and things of that sort I turned over to the Republican associates. I don't know whether they've got them or not.

Fry: What is the Republican associates?

Faries: I don't know what it's doing now. I don't hear as much about it. But they were a money-raising group of businessmen and they also did many fine things. They had a lot of fine businessmen in it. They have a headquarters in Los Angeles.

In Washington for inauguration I think it was the Willard Hotel or something, I took three floors on it. I advanced the money personally.

Fry: In '52?

Faries: The '52 inauguration. I put up the money myself. This person's room, and so on. My good, then-wife did most of the work, I guess. Because it all had to be charted out.

For instance, I think we had 1496 from California or something like that in Washington especially for the inauguration. I remember some party officials crabbed because the box at the ball that I invited them into was too small and so on. I bought that personally out of my own money. It cost me $475, or something like that to get that little box. And I was crabbed at because he got a small box, see. No other officials thought of buying a box or helped financing.

Fry: Did the Republican party repay you later for all this?

Faries: No. Except these people that I put up money for their rooms, they repaid me. But it cost me lots of money.

The point is that most of the Republicans are not politically minded. They're not politically smart -- especially between campaigns. Warren was smart. Knowland, although he was not quick in a great many ways (don't tell him I said that), he was smart in some ways. He worked very hard, too.

But what you have to do is get two or three smart ones and go to fellows like Asa Call and Frank Doherty and so on and say, "Don't you think that you ought to do so-and-so?" They say, "Somebody ought to do it, but I'm too busy!" Then you talk to him and after a little while, why, they come along with you.

Organizing the Party for Campaigns

Faries: Since about 1909, California has never been run by a party. Neither Democrat nor Republican (except under Olson who took a fall). In 1940 I tried it and quit the party control before the campaign was over.

Theoretically, the national committee says who's going to come into California from the outside and says what the national policy is going to be. Theoretically the Republican party was organized -- was it started in Ripon or elsewhere?-- then they went home and organized their states (a Republican organization), and had their state's newly formed organization send delegates back for the next four years. And that's why they never confirm the Republican national committeeman or national committeewoman until the very end of the convention, so they'll get somebody that's in keeping with the thinking of the national group and nominees for president and vice president.

The state committee is supposed to plan and organize the campaign in the state. The county committee is supposed to run it in the county. The county committee so often gets many people that like to have their name put on the ballot and say, "I'm a member of the county committee," but won't work or lack ability.

Faries: The state committee is appointed primarily by the legislators and they're interested particularly in the legislators. And you can't run campaigns that way. Somebody has got to be the "decider."

So when I was national committeeman and before (I don't mean to be boasting) at least around Los Angeles is where I operated primarily and down to San Diego, I would go east and to Washington, then call in each county chairman and a few others and I'd say, "Boys, it's time we got started on this election. You get busy on this, and you get busy on that. And I'll do this. We'll meet again next week or next Monday and you enlarge your committees and so on."

Then some used to get mad and say, "Who's he?" So, I'd say, "Well, somebody had to do it and it was time to do it, so I just went ahead and I think it is time to do it." Or, "I'm national committeeman and I understand they do it back East, and they're asking me where the money is coming for the election, and so on. We've got to do it, it is not my request. It is time to start."

So that's the way those things are done. I would never count on the state or county committee to plan and put on a campaign alone. It means well and can play a valuable part. I did one in 1940. I tried it and it didn't work. Being able to carry, at least in Pomona and so on, I'd have to see that we had the right group from that area and so on. I'd have to see, before we got started, what the local issues were, and what the newspapers said, who was looked up to, and all the rest of it.

Fry: So, you couldn't delegate very well then to a county committee to figure this out?

Faries: No.

Fry: You couldn't really rely on them?

Faries: You couldn't. You might have a few in there that were smart and you'd have some that would work. But your California Federation of Republican Women, some of your Republican assembly, and some of your other groups, you could delegate to pretty well.

This may not be for publication, but from 1944-1953, we had the most wonderful informal committee of mayors and city trustees and city councilmen and so on that you ever saw.

Fry: In Los Angeles?

Faries: In various places in Los Angeles and Orange and all around.

Fry: In the surrounding areas?

Faries: Yes.

Fry: They were able to really function?

Faries: They were unofficial, but they knew their areas. They knew the problems and their places.

Fry: Were they primarily in an advisory capacity to you? Or did they really get out and do the work?

Faries: No. They presumably worked, we'll say, with the county committee or the state committee or the Republican party or whatever it was. They were working for the Republicans.

For instance, the mayor of South Pasadena was a client of mine, we'll say. So, I called him up and I'd say, "What about the other members of your -- What about your local Republican club? Do you have one out there? What are the issues in your town?" I'd say, "Call me up ten days from now and let me know how it's going."

That was the way that things were handled. They were not handled as -- you couldn't get enough precinct workers by going through the regular groups. But you might be able to get some woman down there and you'd say to her, "How about you setting up a group of precinct workers, or getting this list, or your group getting it?"

Earl Warren knew this. Earl Warren never worked through the regular Republican groups. Earl Warren had his own state committee and local committees, sometimes one that may have been a figurehead, some of us may have done the work, and they may have thought they were doing it, but the point is that party organization politics of the Republicans in California did not run California during the times I knew it from 1932-1953.

Look at Reagan, he doesn't run it through the county committee and the state committee and the national committee.

Parcelling out Party Funds for Individual Candidates

Fry: Well, I gather from what you said a while ago that it was the coalition of the business community that were most important in finances, which in turn determined which candidates ran successfully.

Faries: Well, it helped. You had to have your money for -- now, take for instance, you want to elect a congressman in a district. You have several Republicans that want to run.

It's a very difficult thing to say who gets the money and who doesn't. Maybe this one hasn't got a chance. But maybe he lives down on Doheny Place and maybe the Dohenys put up $10,000. I'm purely giving you an illustration.

Now you can't take all that money and turn it over to Nixon's committee, see? Some of it has got to go into there for the congressional candidate. Who's going to decide that? The sub-committee of the budget committee, we'll say, will decide it. And who does the sub-committee turn to? One of their members, who will say, "Who is that person?" Chances are, at least when I was there, it was the national committeeman. I don't say it is now.

Now, Nixon's enthusiasts were always asking for money. And his group and he had a most enthusiastic group, chiefly from World War II (each new candidate that came in generally had a new group, you might say).

I'd say, "Well, I'm sorry. The committee can't give you $40,000." Whereas most of these people would say, "Well, what can you do?"

"$15,000." Then some of his enthusiasts would be mad, see, because they saw Nixon going on up to be president. Nixon -- you'd never hear a cross or dissatisfied word from him.

Fry: You mean, thanks or gratitude?

Faries: I mean the opposite. He's never critical. He was big enough to understand this kind of spreading things around and trying to build a party and trying to help a

Faries: congressman and trying to do all these things. He was much more superior intellectually.

But he had a bunch around him who were coattail riders, a lot of them. They were very enthusiastic, a lot of them. Which goes back to --

You see, Warren is and always was about two jumps ahead of where you thought he was. He'd anticipate what you were thinking about.

Fry: Warren could do the same thing on what?

Faries: Do the same thing as Nixon. He would be two jumps ahead. He could be a very bitter critic sometimes, which Nixon never was. But he was like Nixon in that they were both two jumps ahead. So, you can't satisfy me that Warren wasn't perfectly aware of all of Nixon's ambitions, and Nixon's friends' ambitions.

IX THE 1952 CONVENTION -- FURTHER REMARKS

The California Train

Fry: Well, what about Warren being aware of the way that delegation was stacking up in 1952 that was going to the convention? The thing that troubles me there was why did he accept as the secretary of the delegation the man who had been the head of Nixon's campaign two years before, and why did he accept this Murray Chotiner to handle all of the mechanics of the train?

Faries: He never accepted Murray Chotiner for that. He did take Bernie Brennan because Brennan was available. Brennan was a semi-professional. And Brennan had the time to do it, and Brennan offered to do it. Warren shouldn't have accepted it. We had a small "final choice committee" canvassing proposed delegates and alternates and Brennan was chosen secretary. I suppose some of us, although we had misgivings, shouldn't have allowed it. I talked to Warren two or three times.

But I don't think he knew until Murray got on the train; one, that Murray was placed there to run the train; or, that a lot of these people that were put on the delegation to fill vacancies the last few days by Brennan and Murray Chotiner. I didn't know at all; I went ahead of the train by about two weeks as I was in the national arrangements committee.

Fry: Because that must have happened when the copy was sent to the printer?

Faries: It all happened in the last few days.

Fry: Without checking with you or with Warren?

Faries: Without checking with me at all. I suppose they didn't check with Warren. So, anyhow I was just one member of the committee.

See, I left two weeks early. To go back to the national committee. And I was on the committee for arrangements and to set this thing up for a place for these people to stay and all those kinds of things. So, I was out. But I wasn't put up for California's new national committeeman until the train started, but it had been cleared with Warren before I left.

I didn't know what these changes were in the last two or three weeks. I told Warren, and I think I told you in the notes there, about how some of these people were not for Warren and there were more Eisenhower people coming on --

Fry: Yes.

Faries: But he felt, and maybe he was a little bit like Bill, a little naive, he thought if a man gave his word in writing he would stand by it.

Fry: I was going to check with you some names of people who were on the delegation who, from my other research, appeared probably to be those who might have been pro-Eisenhower. The names I have are Frank Jorgenson, Jack Drown from Long Beach, Pat Hillings, Ron Button, Charles Thomas, and I have Joe Holt's name but I cannot find his name on that official delegation list.

Faries: Joe Holt, I think he had left congress by then, didn't he? Holt was the son of a good politician and a tough World War II congressman. His father had been the public relations man for Arden Dairies and Mayflower Markets and so on.

Ron Button was very much a Knight man. The others were all, and had been since the start, enthusiastic Nixon men.

Fry: Could Ron Button be a Knight man and an Eisenhower supporter?

Faries: As far as I know he was not one of the Eisenhower or Nixon enthusiasts, at least at the start. He was later state treasurer under Knight, you know, and became

Faries: national committeeman. I resigned and then he was elected national committeeman. But I never heard -- I do not think he was an Eisenhower man. I think he was pretty mad when Nixon got on that train, but as a matter of courtesy he and his wife gave up their drawing room to Nixon. And later he told me about the meetings that went on there.

He's still out in Hollywood here.

Fry: Is he still alive?

Faries: Sure is. He was president of the Hollywood Chamber of Commerce last year, I think. He and Gladys are both here.

Fry: What is his whole name?

Faries: A. Ronald Button. No, I don't think that he was with that group at all.

Fry: Were those meetings meetings in which other passengers were being pressured to make a commitment for Eisenhower, or was there also some pressure going the other way in which a lot of Eisenhower people were putting the pressure on Nixon to support Eisenhower?

Faries: Nixon had just come from Denver, hadn't he?

Fry: Yes. He had boarded the train at Denver.

Faries: He boarded the train. He had no reservations. And Mr. and Mrs. Button gave up their place to him, and they told me in Chicago that they weren't very happy about it, as I recall it. But, I wasn't on the train, I don't know. I was back there in Chicago.

Fry: I have two printings of the delegation. You might just look them over and see if you see any other names on there who you would recognize as Nixon or Eisenhower people?

Faries: Mr. and Mrs. Evelle Younger, our attorney general. They were definitely Eisenhower, although they were very honorable people who would stand up to their commitments. I got her to make the famous speech where she, Millie, just wowed them up in San Francisco about 1951. That was for Warren. They had told me at that time they were leaning towards Eisenhower because they knew him.

Faries: But she made this speech for Warren, and she made the best speech for any candidate any woman ever gave. I think she would vote honestly, until the delegation was released. But they were Eisenhower people. And I knew it before they went on the campaign.

Fry: Well, there was a definite decision, apparently, to put a few Nixon, pro-Eisenhower people on the delegation just in order to have a kind of coalition delegation?

Faries: Warren took the position -- no, it was not a coalition delegation at all. They each signed the famous papers that they would support Warren until released. Perhaps some did so with tongue in cheek and allowed it was legalistic.

But Warren, whether he, Warren, was two jumps ahead mentally, told me the correct position was, (one) we had to have the Republican leaders from the different areas, and (two) that if they signed the statement to support, that was all he was going to ask. He wasn't going to exact anything more. In other words, it wasn't my job to check into whether they were signing it primarily because they wanted to get on the delegation or were dishonest.

I think that the man was so smart that he knew that a lot of them weren't for him. But they were the leaders, and they signed the slip and he thought or hoped they'd live up to it.

Lloyd Mashburn, now deceased, of the delegation and later was assistant secretary of the labor, formerly was head of the Lather's Union, was definitely a Warren man. He told me that there were one hundred three labor-Taft delegates; that if Taft didn't make it on the third ballot, they were going to swing to Warren. And that was Warren's chance to win.

Fry: You found out about this at the convention?

Faries: At the convention.

Fry: Just before the balloting?

Faries: Well, no. A day or so before. So if it had gone three ballots and Eisenhower didn't have it, the big swing would start to Warren presumably. And Warren thought that

Faries: these people, such as some that we've mentioned here, would hold or could be held for three ballots. Then, if there was a swing coming to Warren and votes were swung away from Taft, he might have a chance. Now that's my personal thinking.

Fry: What about that vote to seat the pro-Eisenhower group for the Texas delegation? Which is looked upon by some as the turning point of the convention, that this more or less sewed it up for Eisenhower. And the California delegation went along with that at the time. Did you have anything to do with that?

Faries: I talked with Warren. I sat in on the seating of the delegation by the national committee. I went for Warren and I sat in on the contests.

But you see, the big swing started with the governor's conference down in Texas, or down South somewhere. The worst thing that Taft had in the convention was his friends. They acted wrongly there. Also, down in Texas, etc., Dewey spoke up against him and so did others, and that started the Eisenhower ball rolling.

Then came the famous overruling of my report: I was the chairman of the committee on radio and television. Also I was chairman of the committee on televising the proceedings on the seating of delegates. Of course, I wasn't down in Texas -- I don't remember just what did occur down there.

The Texas delegation was one. There were several others. Mississippi was another. We heard the challenges in committee first, and Warren told me to use my own judgment and I did on hearing each case. There were several others and they swung to Eisenhower and that was a pretty much of a test at the time. There were more and more getting disgusted. For instance, and I haven't told this, for some reason or other they had a long platform extended down over the center part of the audience for the people when they came forward to speak, when they'd speak to the national chairman or the secretary or some others.

Those crazy Taft people kept parading up and down there.

Fry: With their signs and --

Faries: No. Just for show. No reason at all. To talk to the chairman or to do this or that or something. And they

Faries: were so much in evidence, sometimes they had their signs too, that -- and they cut off the view of a lot of people, and it made a noise that interfered with the proceedings, so that others on the floor disliked it. And they charged it up to Taft, you see.

They had a song, "I'm looking over a four leaf clover . . ." and they ran that song to death. And when it came to the demonstrations on the floor they went out and hired a big bunch of people. They were rowdy and boisterous, and they were not the same social strata as, say, a lot of people were in. They irritated a lot of people. So many of those things the Taft people unwittingly did to turn them against him.

And those votes didn't go to Warren primarily, they'd go to Eisenhower. Who was Warren? Why did we want a president from California?

The Importance of New York

New York is a trading center. New York itself produces practically nothing except a few garments and money. They are a financial trading center. When a purchasing mission for airplanes came from, we'll say England, they usually came through the House of Morgan. The House of Morgan has lawyers in New York. The British representative of the House of Morgan would phone the representative of the House of Morgan in New York. I've forgotten which bank it was.

They'd say, "Why yes. So-and-so from our attorney's office is now the third assistant secretary of state. We'll call him on the telephone and he will arrange for your visit to see the secretary of state, and he will arrange for your visit to see the secretary of agriculture and so on."

That's New York. That means millions to New York, and vicinity. And when I say New York I go clear up to Massachusetts and down to Philadelphia. This is politics, not only Republican but Democrat. Just stop back and think. Where was Franklin D. Roosevelt from? Where was Eisenhower? Columbia University. The Kennedys were tied into New York. Where was Wendell

Faries: Wilkie from? Where were all the rest of them from?

The only one it broke against was Truman. And what happened to Truman? They didn't want Wallace, who was very, very liberal. They got an adjournment in the middle of the convention voting because it was going to go for Wallace. And I saw on my little television screen a fellow named Ed Pauley from out here, and I also saw a fellow named Farley from New York going around and taking delegates by the coat lapel and talking to them just like that, waving their finger at them. And many swung right around and they put in Truman. That's the only man that ever -- and he was supposed to be, but he got out of it, a Pendergast machine man.

But the point is that New York, in their thinking, must have a president. And they primarily would still choose a Republican, but if he can't be a Republican then they'll take a Democrat to get one from the area.

Now, this is my own thinking. But I think if you will go back over history, you will find that it goes clear back to the days when a fellow named Lincoln beat a man named Buchanan, Lincoln put together a combination of the Whigs and the Mugwamps and the Tories and so on, against them and beat them, because he was so much more brainy than the Buchanan group who was the big city bosses' man and the South's slave group.

So, that's my part of my theories of politics, but all of this stuff that I'm telling you, in all probability a fellow named Warren knew in the back of his head.

Fry: And intuitively.

Faries: Intuitively. How is a man from the west coast going to beat a man from back there?

Why did they get Dewey? New York. He seemed completely disinterested, apparently, and not knowing or particularly caring, other than through the newspapers, all about this great area here.

And look how Johnson, the man from Texas, pulled everything down to Texas. The Aerospace Center, which was put in Texas by a committee which worked on it for a

Faries: year, had been bought a year before by Mrs. Lyndon Johnson.*

Fry: So, that this government financial imperialism more or less follows the president in whatever area he wants.

Faries: The location of the administration follows the president, you see. They're frightened now, the administration.

But the point that I'm saying is that all this history that I think I surmised and know about these things, I think Warren knew. So, Warren knew, we always used to figure, that either a Republican president or a vice president had to come from the West. Two areas helped get the votes -- East and West, or North and South.

So, you have Dewey taking Warren. So, you have Warren, if he was going to get in, having to make a deal or something for the labor delegates in the East or his labor people from the East. It's the most fascinating game in the world.

Fry: Was that labor man a California?

Faries: He was. Lloyd Mashburn.

Fry: Good for you. [Laughter]

Faries: Lloyd was my friend. Secretary and general manager of the lathers.

Fry: How are you feeling? I really should give you a break.

Faries: I'm feeling all right.

Fry: In 1946 I believe you were one who helped to get Nixon

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*At Mr. Faries' request, corroborating sources for this statement have been requested from the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. July, 1973.

Fry: to run for congress against Voorhis, weren't you?

Faries: I was one of them. There was an article in the Saturday Evening Post shortly after that written by the county central committee chairman then from that district, a very fine fellow by the name of Day, which gives a great deal and is substantially correct, except in the most important early details.

To go back, we had Jerry Voorhis for a congressman. Jerry Voorhis' father was very wealthy, was in the Nash motorcar organization, and Jerry ran a school, which is now Cal Poly Pomona. It used to be a private boys school. Jerry started out as a socialist. He switched to Democrat. The district was primarily Democrat because of Montery Park, Maravilla Park, East Los Angeles and so on.

Jerry was the kind of fellow that when he went to South Pasadena he put on a nice clean collar and beautiful tie and shined up his shoes and made a good speech to the Lion's Club. The next day he went over to Maravilla Park and he'd wear run-down shoes and an old hat, and stick a pipe in the corner of his mouth and so on.

And yet, he was an honest man. But politically that was Jerry Voorhis. We knew we had to get rid of Jerry Voorhis. And the group started. I didn't start it, but I knew about it.

Fry: I have Earl Adams' name down here --

Faries: Well, we haven't gotten to Earl Adams. Earl is a blue blood of blue bloods. You look at Earl Adams and you think of the Adams family in Massachusetts. I don't know whether he belongs to them but nevertheless he was later Nixon's law partner, and a finger gentleman never lived. Earl Adams lived in San Marino, which is anathema to the rest of the district -- I lived there too, part of the time because it used to be the home of Henry Huntington and such people. It's like Piedmont.

Fry: Oh, it was too good.

Faries: Also, financially and otherwise. Anyway, a group in each town was formed. Maybe Earl was in one in San Marino. I don't know -- Laverne, Whittier, Pomona, Claremont, and so on. The businessmen in each area were committed to find Voorhis' successor.

Faries: Carl Miller was one of the financiers that headed it, Carl Miller of the Wall Street Journal, and later of the San Gabriel Valley Tribune. International president of the Rotary. He was one of the big financiers of it.

We got a group in each town. And we were looking for the best man to beat Jerry Voorhis. Ben Perry of the Bank of America in Whittier and Rex Kennedy who ran the Whittier News came up and said, "We've got the man, we think."

Now, Nixon had only practiced law for a very short time, I believe, before he went into the service. And he was a partner in the same office with Tom Bewley, city attorney of Whittier. So, they said, "Nixon's coming through here, on his way from the South Pacific to Washington, D.C., to wind up his work at the end of the war."

And, I was invited to the meeting of seven people in the University Club, set up, I think, there by Bernie Brennan, Roy Crocker, chairman of the board now of Lincoln Savings and Loan, and we seven sat in the meeting in the room there. He was in uniform. And we talked with Nixon.

Nixon said, "Well, I'm in your hands. If you say for me to run, I'll run." This was the first I had ever heard of Nixon. Or the most I had ever heard.

The county central committee, Roy Day, who wrote this article, had never heard of Nixon, to my knowledge. I don't think Roy was brought into that meeting. Maybe he was, but the town committees and newspaper (locals) preceeded that.

Fry: But the county central committee was not in on it?

Faries: The county central committee wasn't in on it at all at that time. I don't think they knew about or had anything to do with these committees we'd set up all over. These committees alerted the favorable local press.

Fry: After this meeting of seven people?

Faries: Maybe they had been in touch with them before, but the committees alerted them when we thought we finally had the man.

Fry: Can you describe the meeting?

Faries: We just had lunch together --

Fry: And talked with Nixon?

Faries: Yes. He was in uniform.

Fry: What sort of questions did you ask him?

Faries: I don't remember.

Fry: Was it on issues of the day, or was it to find out how he responded to people?

Faries: Everything. How brainy he was. Whether he was a good talker. Whether he answered questions well. Whether he looked you in the eye, all those kinds of thing you do when you're going to hire a man or something. Whether he would make a good candidate.

So, next we set up a meeting with the publishers of practically all these little papers. There's about seventy of them, I think. At Eaton's Restaurant in East Pasadena.

And this group told them that the canvassing had been going on and it looked like Nixon was the best man, and why. And we asked if they would go along and support him. We got their informal okay. The local Ford dealer was for him. The president of the savings and loan was for him, and so on down the line.

After that was done we talked to the county central committee.

Fry: Did you talk to the county central committee?

Faries: Did I stand up and talk to them? No. I never stood up and talked to anybody, practically. I walked around the room and sat down and talked with anybody.

Fry: But I mean, you were there at the meeting with the county central committee of the district?

Faries: I think I was at the county central committee meeting, but I was at two or three or four meetings before that. You see, the county central committee couldn't carry the district. Never had. They got beaten time and time and time again by Jerry Voorhis. The majority of the people in the district were Democrats.

Now, you had to have somebody who could stand up and talk against Jerry Voorhis, but you had to have the

Faries: local Ford man, or the local gas station operator, and a few others in each community for finances and to get the mayor, et al.

Fry: It couldn't be straight partisan.

Faries: You couldn't do it on a party basis or solely with the people around the county central committee. You see, you could talk to thousands of people and they would say, "Yes, I read the Los Angeles Times, but I don't vote in accordance with the Chandlers. I don't like the Chandlers. I wouldn't vote with them." "I read the Hearst papers but I don't go along with Hearst in my politics."

But in a little town there, where we ran the survey, mostly Mexican-Americans and good citizens, one out of ten took the daily newspaper. Over fifty percent had radios, probably now ninety-five percent. And everybody picked up two or three throwaways that were thrown on their porch and looked those over. And if there happened to be an editorial in there, they might read the editorial.

I made it my business of trying to get editorials in the little throwaway papers. These newspapers are often financed, practically, by the back page which would be taken by some big market. And if someone got hold of the market owner and the market owner helped to get that little Republican ad in there or something, or we bought an ad for $300 or something like that. We could get often an editorial.

Then these people would read the editorial and then they'd say, "Well, this little newspaper has no axe to grind. The Times has an axe to grind, and so has the Examiner got an axe to grind. But this little paper hasn't an axe to grind. It is our paper." So all over California we went to these little papers. And we did that same thing in the Nixon campaign.

Then, after we got things set up like that, then we brought in the county central committee. More power to them. They worked like hell, they were real workers and they got a new bunch of fellows in there, too. And Roy Day was a fine leader and all that, but the idea was the businessmen's.

Fry: Again, this collection of men in the business community you think were the ones --

Faries: In each little community. Not the downtown people. They didn't think --

Fry: What about the issues in that campaign? The only ones that, I guess, I'm acquainted with is the communist issue. Were there other local issues that were used? Or was that the primary issue?

Faries: I think it was the communism and old fashioned issues as much as other things. Jerry Voorhis had been a socialist. And I think he was a friend of Carey McWilliams, the fellow that wrote Factories in the Field and some of those New Republic articles, etc. He was a good friend of mine.

Fry: Voorhis was, or McWilliams?

Faries: Both. Not so much Voorhis as McWilliams. But, as I told you, I used to go -- and people didn't know this -- and sit down and eat lunch with Johnny Despol, Republican leader of the Steel Workers, and Frenchy Roberts of the CIO and so on, and generally pick up the check using personal funds and have a nice visit with them. They were my friends.

Some Republicans thought I was pretty liberal, I guess. But I wasn't, I don't think, really. But as a practical matter I was friends with these people.

Fry: This enables you to keep your ear to the ground?

Faries: But your average Republican doesn't think of those things. That procedure was the same thing with Earl Warren, to a large extent. He had all sorts of friends in organized labor. He'd remember people, like the story I told you about the twelve-year-old photograph, and so on. You can't do like the Southern California Republican women and Birch type Republicans used to do. For instance, they did terribly for California when they lost Tommy Kuchel. It was stupid on their part. But they licked Tommy Kuchel. Tommy was the best trader. When it came down to a partisan issue where he had a chance, Tommy would stand straight Republican. But in the meantime he would have told the senator from West Virginia, a Democrat, "I'll vote with you on the money for West Virginia public schools." Then when it came to a thing where we had a chance, he'd go to the West Virginian and say, "Well, this doesn't mean anything

Faries: to you, but it does to California. Give me a vote on it."

And Goldwater would tell you the same thing. Goldwater told my wife (not my present wife but my then wife, now deceased,) "Under no occasions let Tommy Kuchel out. You've got to have him." Now he and Goldwater are not of the same type, but nevertheless there you had it.

Fry: Well, we hope to interview Kuchel too.

Faries: Warren knew these things.

Fry: While we're talking about Nixon and all of the factors that Warren had to crank into his mind in 1952 in his bid for the presidency, there's one that very few people have commented on. I wonder if you remember this being something that was considered at the time, that there is the 12th amendment to the Constitution that says that the vice president cannot come from the same state as the presidential candidate. Now, this would make Warren realize, I guess, that Nixon's political ambitions could not include Earl Warren as a running mate. Was this a part of the picture?

Faries: I never heard it mentioned. I remember the section you're speaking of, but I never heard the subject discussed at all. I don't think he was considering Nixon at all.

Fry: Well, that's about all of my mop-up questions. I have two little details here. One is the papers which may be at the Republican Associates. It seems like if they have anything that is old enough now to be viewed as historic material, that it would be helpful to get it deposited somewhere because this is such a fascinating political period, either at UCLA's Department of Special Collections or with our Earl Warren Era Collection in The Bancroft Library.

Faries: I haven't paid my dues to the Associates for years. I did turn over to them -- you see, the law provided that you must keep all of your financial records for a certain number of years. And I figured that probably included some of the campaign, if not all of it. I wasn't the treasurer. But I did handle the money for the inauguration and convention, and some others. So, I kept all that until the statute of limitations was run on it.

Faries: As I recall, then I gave it to the Republican Associates, but I may have then thrown away or destroyed same as of no interest. Whether they thought it had any value and kept it or not, I don't know. I never heard.

Fry: I wonder if I should try contacting someone there, do you think?

Faries: You might. They claim that they had developed something of a library.

Fry: Well, maybe they have something, too, we could use for research even if we have to use it in their offices.

Faries: They were, at that time, down at Ninth and Broadway, I think it was. The Coast Federal Building.

Fry: It's been good of you to give us your time.

Transcriber: Marilyn Fernandez
Final Typist: Gloria Dolan

ADDENDUM
Dictated by McIntyre Faries to his secretary
in the Spring of 1973

Family Antecedents

Supplementing what I have already mentioned to you, the following is a resumé of the Faries family background and my own life experience.

My great, great grandfather was William Faries (apparently this is the same root name as Farris, Faris, Farie, etc.). There used to be a Faries family society, with headquarters near Ashville, North Carolina. The family story is that the name was brought to France from the Near East by returning crusaders. This is confirmed by several things. My uncle met a Bedouin guard or Arab guard named Faries (probably spelled with a Ph), who said the name meant "successful warrior" or "warrior on horseback." Also, my friend, William Maloof, born and brought up in Lebanon, who died recently, told me that the name in Arabic meant "successful warrior."

Our branch of the family were French Hugonauts and, according to the family history, went from France to Scotland along with the Colberts. There they remained together apparently and came via the north of Ireland to the American Colonies in 1767. They moved south into South Carolina where, I believe, the family records of the City of Columbia, South Carolina show that they were given 20 acres in York County plus about five pounds, under a city ordinance granting such amounts to "needy Protestant immigrants from Scotland or north of Ireland." (This would be unconstitutional today.) All these people hated the King, and some McIntyres and others in the North became Tories (we have heard) because the King or prior kings to George III had told them they could reestablish their clans there. All the lowland Scots

and the people from the North of Ireland practically were on the rebel side. I believe my great grandfather William was in Stuart's 57th Virginia REGULAR Volunteer Regiment of the Continental Army. He had some knowledge of surgery. Our family have some papers on his service in the Continental Army and it is borne out in the family tradition. In the last 15 months of the Revolutionary War, after fighting in several battles, he was taken prisoner and was paid off in Continental currency, which was practically worthless. The records show that he gave this to his son James. I believe this James is the second James born to the same family, the first having died and the second James named after his brother.

Great, great Grandfather apparently remarried after his first wife died. His will names only the children of the second family. I believe it is in the University of South Carolina Library at Columbia and is typical of the wills of the day, starting off "In the name of God, Amen, etc." and leaving a heifer to this child, etc., but if the heifer does not survive, then the child gets a colt. At the top of the will, which was written by a scrivener, the name is spelled Farris or something of that sort, but he spelled his name Faries when he signed.

James took the Continental currency, or scrip, to buy land in what is now India thanks to Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton who practically forced Thomas Jefferson to make the Louisiana purchase (against his will, so I was told by the director of the American Theosophical Society Library and Artifacts in Philadelphia about 15 years ago). The society was founded by Benjamin Franklin, who tried to form such a society in 1743 but said he could not find enough learned people in the colonies to start it. He then started it, I believe, in about 1763 or 1769 and remained as

president almost until he died, i.e. about 20 years. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, etc. were all members. It is now endowed by the Penrose family and when I visited it I learned that its library had 1.5 million volumes, including the greatest collection of Franklin's papers and a picture of his wife. It also contains the original notes on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I believe one of them was in St. Louis when the purchase was made and they were soon ready to go; and, instead of stopping at the edge of the purchase boundary, strange as it may seem, they went on to the Pacific down the Columbia River. This is part of the "Manifest Destiny" which lasted through the Theodore Roosevelt regime. Someone should write about it. It happened in California before the Mexican War started. General Fremont and Commodore Stockton were here, as were others. Somebody jumped the gun and started the Bear State Flag Republic.

Going back to the family, James took the money and went north and bought land in the Ohio territory and what is now Indiana. (This was our second time on the dole.) By such "sales" Hamilton restored the value of our currency. He was the great first Secretary of our Treasury and this was part of his scheme.

James' son, my grandfather, Isaiah William Farries, was born in 1822. He attended Oxford University on the Maumee River in Ohio and graduated in about 1846. It is our family understanding that he was not only a member of Phi Beta Kappa but one of the founders of Beta Fraternity, still ranked about the top in fraternities. He became a minister and I believe did some chaplain work on the North side in the Civil War. He married Isabella Culbert and my father was born in northern

New York. Her sister, Anna, married Charles E. Vandenburgh, who became ~~either~~ a Circuit Court or Appellate judge, or a judge of the Supreme Court of Minnesota.

At the close of the Civil War my grandfather went by canoe, subject to a couple of portages, across from Phelps County, New York, where the family had a nice home on Kenyetto Creek, near Lake Erie, through the lakes to about what is now Duluth. He did circuit-riding preaching for a while and later became a businessman, never, however, losing his interest in the church. He and Judge Vandenburgh became business partners. Grandfather homesteaded a piece of land in Minneapolis near St. Anthony's Falls, and I believe my granddaughter has the deed "earned" after three or four years. It is dated 1869 and was signed by someone for President Grant. Their home in Minneapolis was quite a show place for many years. It eventually became a tearoom and then a morgue. The area went downhill but has been rejuvenated. My father and his brother John and sister Anne borrowed on it and lost the property.

My grandfather and Vandenburgh made considerable money. At one time they owned all or practically all of what is now the City of Duluth, but had to let it go in 1873 in the panic. They saved about two hundred acres, but the City moved in another direction from what they expected. They were among the founders of the American Exchange Bank of Duluth, the Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis and the First National Bank of Minneapolis. My father inherited stock in each from his father. The banks joined the Northwest Bancorporation, and much to my horror, although the stock had come down badly, I discovered that my mother had sold it during the DURING THE 29-40 DEPRESSION period when stock assessments were a possibility.

Early Childhood, in Shantung, China

William R. Faries,
My father/died in 1931. As a boy he was sickly. He was a hunchback. He studied medicine and served his internship at Bellevue Hospital after graduating from one of the universities in New York; He drove a horse-driven ambulance at night, etc. He became an eye surgeon and was especially good with his hands. He worked hard.

In about 1888, soon after my father's graduation from medical school, a donation of approximately $50,000 was made to the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Minneapolis to enlarge the missionary hospital at Weishien, Shantung Province in China. My father agreed to take the assignment. His goal was experience and love of his Maker, and to give relief to the Chinese who had much eye trouble. He married Priscilla Ellen Chittick, who came to New York from England with her parents, and they went to China. My mother had attended church school in England and later taught piano lessons in New York. She taught in the high school in Weishien. Four children were born to them there: David, Culbert, MacIntyre and Charles. My mother had two more boys later. She died in 1951.

The hospital in Weishien grew considerably. It was staffed with Chinese doctors, some of them very good, and missionary nurses, who treated some 10,000 patients annually. It had two dispensaries.

After the Boxer outbreak in early 1901, Father went to North China to rebuild the missions, then went back to his medical work and turned his job at the mission over to the Reverend Henry Luce, father of the publisher.

My brothers, David and Culbert, went to the China Inland Missionary School, which was under the direction of

Dr. Hunter Corbett in Chefoo. Henry Luce, founder of LIFE, TIME and FORTUNE, also attended and we all became good friends. He was "Harry" to us. There are many pictures of the Chefoo area, taken while they were students. I have sent some of these to Harry Luce, and my brother Culbert also has some. My brother David died in 1944.

In 1900 came the famous Boxer Rebellion. I have a long letter about it written by my father at the time he and my oldest brother were in Shanghai.*

I remember that we were in the walled compound. Our house was two-story burned brick (gray). We could see the villages about us being pillaged and burned by the Boxers, and it was decided we would have to evacuate. The Chinese were practically at the gates, yelling and pounding. I don't remember whether the geese we kept at the top of the gate at night as watchdogs were honking or not. We also had a Chinese watchman. After we had left, the problem at the gate got so bad that one of the missionaries, I believe either Doctor Chalfant or Doctor Matier, had to shoot one of the rioters. They then calmed down when they realized that bullets of the foreign devils would ~~not~~ kill any of them, which in their frenzy they had disbelieved.

When we left the compound we went through the back garden, climbed over the back wall, and got into Chinese shenzas. These were mule litters, one mule ahead and one behind, with a matting between two poles resting on the "saddle" on each mule. There was a top over the matting and we put down blankets and got inside. The bells were removed from the mules and we escaped in this manner.

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*At the time of depositing this manuscript, Judge Faries could not locate the letter; however, a copy will likely be deposited in The Bancroft Library at a future date.

We went down to the port of Wei-Hi-Wei where men, wading in the water, carried us out to a little Japanese steamer. We and other refugees were in the hold of the ship and slept there. I remember seeing rats fighting on the bed and noticed blood on it the next morning. A typhoon came up and it took us several days to get across to Japan. Our family have pictures of early Chinese life, etc., but the pictures of the "Boxer" soldiers, etc. I sent to the Presbyterian Mission Board in Philadelphia, and they have apparently been lost.

Through the courtesy of the English we were allowed to stay in a schoolhouse in Nagaski. My father had become greatly imbued with missionary spirit and was then thinking of going to India, but we did not go. It was while we were living in the school house that it was discovered that I was lefthanded. My brothers, to amuse me, would put my blocks in word forms and I would write them on the blackboard or greenboard backwards. This was corrected and I was soon corresponding with family in the States at the age of four. Many of my letters may still exist but I surrendered some of them to the Immigration Department many years later when I applied for a certificate of derivative citizenship. This is another long story.

We later went to Shanghai and I attended Miss Jewell's School, which was a short distance from the famous Bubbling Well Road, and I remember incidents that took place there.

My father was asked to return by General Yuan Shi Kai, a wily old Chinese who later became provisional president of the Republic of China, i.e., the bridge between the old and the new, before Sun Yat Sen. Sun Yat Sen was the father of Mrs. Chang Kai Chek. Yuan Shi Kai was the Empress Dowager's general in the Shantung

or because he admired him, I don't know, he invited my father to go back into China and rebuild the mission compounds. Father got safe conduct back to his mission and took over the task of rebuilding.

Yuan Shi Kai gave me a lamb which grew up to be a big ram and we had to get rid of it because it would wait until I came out of the door and butt me. I was then five years old, and this was his way of showing his friendship with me.

The compound had been completely burned and we lost many historical articles and valuable Chinese art, cash, etc. We stayed on for three years, and in 1903 when my father was so sick with malaria we returned to this country. When we departed from China, the governor, city officials, etc. gave us a great send-off. We rode in Mandarin sedan chairs and had a big party, and Father was given all sorts of gold and black scrolls, etc.

Growing up in Orange and Coachella, California

We went to Saratoga, California, to live for a few weeks and then came to Southern California where the climate was drier and better for my father. He rented the Hughes home in Tustin for a couple of months, then bought a 20-acre ranch in Orange from the District Attorney. We enjoyed a rather self-sufficient life there and I still love the place. I have heard it is now part of the campus of Orange High School. While we were there, the old Orange High School was built across from the grammar school which I was attending. It is now Chapman College.

Our ranch had acres of fruit trees, fields of alfalfa, etc. and we had a large vegetable garden and raised chickens, turkeys, rabbits, pigeons, ducks, etc. We also had horses and a cow. A windmill provided our water supply and irrigation from a ditch was under the supervision of a ranger (watermaster)

We kept dried apricots in a box where a boy could go when he was hungry and get a handful, and I enjoyed taking eggs, vegetables, etc. down to the general store in my little express wagon. There were months when our ranch deliveries brought in more money than we owed the store. All this was a supplement to the small income which my father had.

At Orange Grammar School it was tradition that each boy had to fight with fists, starting at the bottom of his class until he reached his position physically among the group. I got to third from the top in my class.

We attended the little white Presbyterian Church where Doctor Parker was the minister.

There are many stories about that area and other people that I could refer to, such as the Carlsons, the Flippens, etc. Orange was a great place to grow up. Father sold part of the ranch, and I was unhappy when we moved from the remaining portion to Highland Park where my older brothers went to Occidental Academy.

Father's malaria persisted. He still hoped to return to China, and thinking he would benefit from drier climate he bought 80 acres of land near Coachella. The land was cheap because the Colorado River had broken loose and was running into the Salton Sea, and he thought the Southern Pacific would stop it. The Coachella ranch is still there but we do not own it any longer. I have visited it recently and it is all interspaced with grapefruit and orange trees, and many of the date palms are 60 to 70 feet tall. My father was among the first directors of the California Date Association, one of the first large importers from North Africa.

World War I

World War I came along when I was at Occidental College. I had a little training in marching with a gun over my shoulder and decided I did not like carrying a gun and sleeping in a trench, so I joined the Navy. My brother David secured a letter from "Bud" Hill, then county counsel, addressed to Eugene Overton who was USNR Executive Officer at Pier 7, AT SAN PEDRO I took the letter to Overton. He read it, looked at me and asked, "Do you want to join the Navy?" and I said "Yes, SIR." Whereupon he told me to stand up and hold up my right hand. He gave me the oath and I was in.

Three weeks later I was ordered to Naval Training Station. I was assigned to a Stanford Battalion (made up mostly of Stanford men) and we were to defend the Pacific Coast in cruisers, yachts, etc., but soon we were sworn in to go anywhere. I loafed for quite a while and saw men getting commissions, so I decided to try for one. The officer of the day sent me down to a building at the end of the dock where I found several officers sitting there with their feet on the desk. They asked me a lot of damn fool questions. The old "Oregon" was about to go out to the East coast and I was ordered to go along on it as a signalman. As I was on my way to pack my bag I met a friend who told me he had just seen a list of men assigned for officers' training school and my name was on it. I went over to look at it, went back to the officer of the day, and asked what I should do. He replied, "I've got 20 signalmen; obey the last order first and go to Officers' Training School." Forty out of 150 applicants were chosen, and of the 40 there were 11 lawyers and 16 others who had studied in preparation for officers' training before they came in the service. They

had had courses in spherical trigonometry, astronomy, etc. which I had not studied, and I thought our course at training school was terribly hard. This was the first time in my life that I had to really work at learning. I was among the 29 who passed, and I was sent to San Francisco, took my training cruise on the gunboat Vicksburg, and was ordered to destroyer duty on the U.S. Chew # 106. It was to be launched in September but was not completed till after the armistice. Meantime, I went out on trial trips, etc. as an inspector at the Union Iron Works. I contracted the flu and the mumps and was in the hospital when that ship sailed, so I never got off the Pacific coast. I LATER did make a cruise on the "Mississippi" to Valparaiso, Chile, and received a confirmed commission.

College

The stint in the service made me realize that one should really work, and when I came back to civilian life I resumed studies at Occidental College. I attended class mornings, travelling by street car and studying on my way to school and to work at noon. I worked part time at the Auto Club where my older brother was general counsel and earned $25 a month serving papers, taking accident reports and witness statements, etc. In the evening, I went to law school, part time at Southwestern University and part time at USC Law School. I also took additional studies, and carried practically a full course at Occidental and a full course at Law School while working half time for a year and a half. At the end of that year and a half I was much surprised to learn I had been elected at Occidental to the "Society of the Olive Crown" which became Phi Beta Kappa. I then worked full time at the Auto Club and took the bar examination before I finished school in 1922, and I married in October 1922. I stayed on as an attorney at the Auto Club for

about a year, at a salary of $175 per month.

I decided to apply for a position in the county counsel's office and went to see Ed Bishop who was then county counsel. There was no vacancy in that office and there was a waiting list, and Ed suggested that I see William Aggeler, the public defender. Aggeler advised me to take the examination which was to be held at his office in three weeks, and Bishop promised that when there was a chance in the county counsel's office I could join his staff. Bishop and Aggeler both became judges later.

So here was I who never planned to practice criminal law and had never taken a course in criminal procedure or seen a criminal case. I studied for the deputy public defender's examination and finished third out of 40, perhaps because I had just studied the subject. The man who finished first was appointed. About three weeks later, the supervisors added two positions, so I became a deputy public defender. I stayed there about two years, learned a lot about trial work, but still wanted to join the county counsel office and went back to see Ed Bishop. I took the required examination PASSING SECOND and became a member of the office. Bishop became a judge while I was there. Everett Mattoon, later Assistant Attorney General, followed Bishop as county counsel.

Soon after, the firm of Faries and Williamson, in which my brother was a partner, were looking for someone who knew municipal law and had a knowledge of condemnation, street bonds, and the opening and widening of streets and roads. I left the county counsel's office and became associated with the firm. It ~~then~~ LATER became Faries, Williamson and Musick. I taught morning classes at Southwestern Law School and worked in the

office the rest of the day. The firm broke up in 1931, and my father died the same year.

As an associate in the newly formed law office of David R. Faries, I became a general practitioner. The firm then became Faries and McDowell, and after David died in 1944, it became Faries and McDowell, I being the Faries. Charles McDowell died in 1950, and the firm became Faries, Hackett and Hubbard until 1953, when I went on the bench.

Local Politics in the Early Thirties

I got into the political field in 1932. A friend, Theodore L. Stearns, came by one Saturday morning while I was mowing my lawn and said he wanted to run for Congress in the district and needed help--more than my vote. I was well known in South Pasadena where I was living and was chairman of the Civic Affairs Committee of the Oneonta Club (a civic club). He told me there was going to be a meeting of the South Pasadena Republican Club and that he would like to have me gather some 22 people to attend and get him the endorsement. We went and we got him the endorsement. I was made president of the club that evening.

Following that, there was a countywide (grass roots) Republican meeting coming up in El Monte. The district was then represented by a one-time Socialist named Jerry Voorhis, who was then a Democrat. South Pasadena had one County Central Committee member, a real estate man named Laws. Voorhis' father had money and Jerry owned a school, now Cal Poly, in the Pomona Valley.

Our delegation represented 22 precincts and I was greatly assisted by the Women's Republican Club and particularly

(AFTER HE DIED MY CLOSE FRIEND,
Mrs. Elizabeth Claflin. She married E. E. Wyman, a former football coach at Michigan, Princeton and other colleges, and now a member of the football Hall of Fame.)

We went to the "grass roots" meeting and found that every area, about five in all, had a candidate and that no one was getting anywhere. We realized that the smart boys were up to something and about to put up a compromise candidate, and we knew who it was. I went to Frank Rice of the Los Angeles east side group and "borrowed" four votes from him for the next ballot, with the understanding that I would give him four votes on a later ballot if my scheme did not work. When we came back from dinner, Mr. Laws, our County Central Committee representative from South Pasadena, died suddenly in the hall. I became the leader of the South Pasadena group. With the aid of the four "borrowed" votes, Theodore Stearns, our candidate, was nominated as the candidate of the so-called "grass roots" convention. However, he was beaten out for the Republican nomination by Fred Houser, our assemblyman, who did not take part. Unfortunately Houser could not beat Jerry Voorhis. Houser was later elected Lieutenant Governor of California and, following that, Superior Court judge.

Although I was in politics in 1932, I did not become a member of the County Central Committee, which was practically controlled by the incumbents, and particularly by Alhambra which was the big city of the district. I did become a member of the committee in 1934.

I joined the Republican Assembly group. The group felt it should replace Hoover and others because they were too old

and had no charisma for the public. I signed up about 80 to 90 members in a very short time and became the district vice president. I slowed down when I realized that the top men were getting only a very few members a month while I was getting many. In other words, I thought it was time "to take a look."

I became chairman of the 12th Congressional District and, soon afterward, vice president of the Republican County Central Committee. Meantime a lot of maneuvering was going on in the upper strata of the Republican Party.

The 1936 Campaign and the California Republican Assembly

In 1938 Governor Merriam wanted to run for office again. I became his chairman for Los Angeles County. He lost the election. Earlier we had made an effort to eliminate him, knowing he could not make it. In 1936 Merriam had the support of a young Republican group which was not in the Republican Assembly and wanted to head the California delegation to the Republican Convention. A so-called uninstructed delegation nominally pledged to Earl Warren also wanted to go, and a real intra-party rift developed in the Republican ~~Assembly~~ PARTY. The "uninstructed" group was put together primarily by former Lieut. Governor H. L. Carnahan and others of the Senator Hiram Johnson group. Carnahan was a fine man and an exceptional politician. HE ASKED ME TO TAKE OVER HIS WORK SHORTLY BEFORE HE DIED. And his secretary, Laura Bertram, was also very able.

The Assembly group in our area, headed by Palmer Conner, told the Merriam group to stay out of our district and we were pretty successful in keeping them out, and we elected a group who were pledged to Earl Warren. The so-called Warren delegation or uninstructed delegation was successful and went to the 1936 convention.

Four of us who met on the special train en route to Washington felt sure that Alf Landon did not have a chance as candidate for the presidency. We decided to prevail on Senator Vandenburgh of Michigan to run and immediately went in search of him, and with the aid of some from other states tried to get him to run. He did not turn us down but did early the next morning, saying that Landon had it "sewed up." He would have made a better candidate, but even he could not have made it.

On return, Earl Warren, who was National Committeeman, formed a large Southern California campaign committee on which he selected only about six who were from the Republican Assembly. Ed Shattuck was the real leader of the Republican Assembly. Sherrill Halbert, who later became a federal judge, was its state president, but Ed was the real founder and leader. I do not want to say anything against Sherrill because he was a fine man. However, Ed was "burned up" because there were so few young men on the committee.

Soon after, Earl Warren left for a short vacation in Hawaii. Ed, without consulting anyone, wrote a letter to the entire committee, and I think the delegates, stating that Earl Warren had been wrong in failing to obtain better membership from the young group. The result was that some of the old-time politicians got hold of a "third house" member by the name of Marshall and sent him to see all the members of the campaign committee other than those of the Republican Assembly. (Marshall told me about this later. He represented North American Aviation Corporation at the Legislature as its lobbyist, and was a capable man.)

The group, other than those from the Republican Assembly, named Michael F. Shannon (former assistant district attorney and former national president of the Elks) to head the campaign committee, and also named the finance committee, but decided to leave appointment of the campaign management chairman to the members of the Assembly. My friend, Robert F. Craig, a very capable person, was chosen chairman. He was at that time working on the expansion of the Republican Assembly statewide. Leo Anderson had been named chairman of the County Republican Central Committee by the Assembly. Goodwin J. Knight was chairman of speakers, and E. O. Blackman was, I believe, secretary of the County Central Committee. He later followed Bob Craig as campaign management chairman. I took no part in these things, partly because I was not asked. Murray Chotiner was manager of the Speakers' Bureau. He was an expert worker and his timing was excellent. The old-timer members of the committee asked my brother David to "release me" from his law practice to work ~~with them~~ TO WORK FOR NOTHING IN L.A. COUNTY CAMPAIGN HEAD QUARTERS SO I DIVIDED MY DAY.

I never received any pay for my work for the Republican Party, nor did I receive expense money except during campaigns, when I was reimbursed for travel, outlays, etc. I always refused law business that appeared to me to be politically motivated, and the result was that other business did not come to me as much. Being active in Republican politics from this time forward particularly cost me a lot of money. I turned down two Washington partnership offers because I surmised they were seeking California political business. I also turned down two very lucrative retainers which were for a period of several years, because I felt that such use of the National Committeeman's office (as I was later) was very wrong, and I still am of the same conviction.

I practiced law about six hours a day during the 1936 campaign and still had my basic drawing account, but my percentage of the firm's fees during that time "went by the board." I was appointed to the campaign executive committee and the finance committee and represented Mike Shannon, campaign committee chairman, at headquarters. It wasn't long before I was saying who was hired and who was fired. I kept the manager advised as to how much money was available to operate each week, etc., and bought lunches (out of my own pocket for a considerable time) for the ladies who addressed envelopes, etc. And I remember the No. 2 or No. 3 man on the staff coming to me and telling me, "I want to apologize to you. I didn't know you were the boss." I was not the boss. I did not plan the campaign or conduct it, but I had veto power.

The Roosevelt victory here and elsewhere is history. During the campaign I tried to allow the Republican Assembly to grow, as I felt it to be a good organization and we needed new blood and there were a lot of fine young fellows in it. When the campaign was over, a difference of opinion arose over the presidency of the Los Angeles County Republican Assembly. I took no part in the maneuvering, and when the smoke of battle had blown over I had become president of the Los Angeles County Committee. Franklyn Donnell, a very conscientious and likeable but firm fellow, who was then with William Cavalier & Company, investment brokers, agreed to be treasurer of the Committee.

Much to my surprise, I soon found that approximately half the financing of the Assembly came from its own sources (primarily Jack D'Aule and his friends) and through National Committeeman Earl Warren. The other half came through Herbert Hoover and some of his friends. I did not take part in the

internecine problem, and while I was not among the founders of the Republican Assembly I was friendly with all of them. Many leaders of the Assembly were downgrading their financial backers because they did not understand their objective. The membership included some very fine dedicated young people. I do not believe that most of them knew that, while they were trying to "read Merriam out of the party" Hoover and his friends were "fed up" with the Merriam group and realized new leadership was needed, and put up money for that purpose.

A representative of Governor Merriam's group came to me and said the wounds should be healed and told me that, to show his good will, Merriam offered to appoint one of the group a municipal court judge. Most of the leaders of the younger group were lawyers and had idealistically sworn they were not in the Assembly for political reasons. At this time, E. O. Blackman, who later went to work for the Public Utilities Commission and is now manager of the California Dump Truck Owners Association and one of the squarest and finest friends I have, at my request contacted each lawyer member of the Assembly for his biography and to ascertain whether he would be interested in becoming a municipal court judge. To my surprise all of them were very interested in an appointment to the bench. After all was said and done, I discovered I was the one the Governor wanted to appoint. This was in early 1937. I refused his offer and wish now I had gone on the bench at that time particularly, as just about that time the Governor did appoint several younger men, most of whom were sons of well-known people who had helped in his campaigns. (This is not to say they did not make good judges, because many of them became fine judges.) To further heal the breach, the Governor,

at my suggestion, did offer an appointment to the bench to Ed Shattuck, but for good cause Ed turned it down.

The Assembly did not favor Merriam for reelection. Rather, they chose George Hatfield. Harry Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times, held a meeting in the "back room," and sent Kyle Palmer, the Times political editor, to Sacramento to tell Merriam that they felt he should not run. Palmer was sometimes called the "little governor." He told me that when Merriam was "doing well," his stock was down with him, but when the governor was in trouble, Palmer's stock was up.

When Palmer arrived in Sacramento, he telephoned Merriam and found him in a jovial mood and was invited to dinner that evening. Palmer said he felt like a member of the diplomatic corps ~~and~~ about to become ~~a member of~~ AMBASSADOR TO the Court of St. James. The governor was a great eater, and once he had wolfed down a big meal, Kyle brought up the purpose of his trip. Merriam laughed and said, "Kyle, I thought that's why you were up here. I'll tell you, I'm like the country horse who saw his master washing the buggy, polishing it and the harness, and he knew that they were going to go to town. They went, he with check rein to hold his head up high. He knew everyone was looking at him and admiring him, when suddenly as he pranced proudly along he saw a street car coming toward him. He had never seen a street car and he was very frightened. He knew that regardless of what happened he would run away, and knew he would be hit by the street car." "Kyle," he said, "I'm just like that horse. I see it coming. I'm going to be hit. I'm going to be defeated, but I'm going to run anyway."

Merriam had made a lot of bad appointments, and generally failed to consult with people other than his "kitchen cabinet." As a result, things were not good.

California had been held by the Republicans and in voting strength was about as heavy proportionately as it is now.[1973] Democrat Culbert Olson looked like a governor, and in 1938 he was so elected. He proceeded to organize on an "Eastern political" basis. His son and others caused him a lot of trouble. The Democrats made some really horrible mistakes.

The Economy Bloc

Earl Warren, the Republican candidate, got in as California Attorney General. Soon, the "third house" and others started the economy block. I was vice chairman of the Republican State Committee and vice president of the Republican Assembly. The economy block organizers contacted me and we worked out a system for financing their meetings. Each Assemblyman gave a dinner for his colleagues, and they discussed state legislative economy. Financial leader Charles Blythe of Blythe & Company, and chairman of the Republican Finance Committee in California, called me to a meeting in San Francisco and said if the Southern California group would put up one-half the money, the North would put up the other half to finance the block and they would put a man in Sacramento to write publicity for and speeches for, etc. the block. Money would be contributed through the "third house" for radio time, public relations, etc. I told him I was merely an "office boy" and would carry the word South. The money, including some of our Republican funds, was put up, and Ross Marshall, political editor of the Herald Express (Los Angeles), went to Sacramento and set up headquarters where he worked for the economy block, consisting mainly of Republicans but also some fine conservative Democrats as well.

Control of the legislature passed out of Olson's hands, even though all back debts had been repaid and he had tried to set up a good organization.

When my term as president of the Sixth Agricultural District Board (now the Museum of Science and Industry in Los Angeles) expired, I received no notification, and when I walked into my last meeting an Olson replacement was sitting in my chair. The manager was also retiring and Olson tried replacing him and others with the least qualified persons I have seen under his system. All these appointments had to be cleared by the Democratic State Chairman, the Democratic County Chairman, and the Young Democrats and several other groups. This is just one of the reasons why Olson was defeated by Warren. (Later, Governor Earl Warren put me back on the Board, and I served until 1953.)

Charlie Blythe asked me to attend a meeting in his office in Sacramento. His San Francisco finance group were there, and the only two of us who were not from San Francisco were J. R. Knowland (Bill Knowland's father) and myself. This must have been in 1940. The plan was to publicize Earl Warren for governor, and they wanted me to raise the money here in the South, and to commit the Los Angeles area for one-half the cost. I explained to them that, unlike San Francisco, our Los Angeles committee did not commit before they had the money. But money was put up from Los Angeles to publicize Warren for governor long before he ran. He was doing a good job as attorney general, had the looks, etc. Nobody thought of him as in any way "radical," although he had many labor friends and later appointed some to important positions.

I lunched regularly with major representatives of THE THIRD HOUSE to get their thinking, among them Will Fischer of the Edison Company, who was the "dean." They kept me informed on where they put up money, etc., and thus we avoided duplication of election funds for political activities.

Going back a little, I was elected vice president of the Republican State Committee and of the Assembly in about 1938. George Newell of Ventura was State Assembly president. It was the custom to put the presidency in the "cow counties" in an off-presidential election year. San Francisco wanted it and offered to pay our Assembly deficit of about $12,000, and although they did not draw the presidency they still agreed to pay the deficit. I think this was done in good faith and that the San Francisco group thought they could get it from their finance group, but they failed.

George Newell worked very hard as Assembly president and I liked him very much. After some months, he told me that the Assembly debt was down to $10,000 but that his health was poor and that I would have to take over. He went to Lake Arrowhead to rest and died while he was there. Preston Hotchkis and his associates solicited and collected sufficient funds to pay all debts of the Assembly. Unfortunately, word sent to George Newell came too late. I succeeded him as president.

I did not have the time or money to give to the Republican cause in the 1940 election. California is a big state. I made a deal with Congressman John Phillips of Banning that if I could raise funds, he would accept appointment as Executive Secretary or Manager of the State Central Committee. He would

have been a strong representative and would have saved the chairman of the committee from having to travel the state so much. I discussed the matter with Paul Shoup of Merchants & Manufacturers Association and former head of Southern Pacific Company. He liked the idea and promised that he and his friends would raise funds to pay Phillips in his position, but we never saw any money. However, the State Legislature, which controlled the State Committee; the remainder of the Merriam group; the Republican Assembly; the Conference of Republican Women, etc. all agreed to support me, and my election as state chairman would have been a "shoo in." The Conference of Republican Women was becoming our greatest Republican group. I refused to attend the State Republican Committee meeting because I could not afford to, take the chairmanship and I wanted nothing out of politics, etc. State Senator Tom Kuchel of Anaheim, who knew nothing about the job, was elected. I think it was at the suggestion of "third house" members Elmer Bromley, Ted Craig, etc. that Kuchel asked me to chairman the 1940 campaign in Southern California. Bear in mind that we always had a paid general manager. Chairmen were not paid, but some of us took our work seriously and I think we were the real decision makers with the aid and friendship of organizations, finance committees, etc. I became the Chairman for the 1940 campaign.

The 1940 Campaign

I had supported Wendell ~~Wilkie~~ Willkie and was his campaign chairman before the convention. Earl Warren and some of his close associates did not particularly like this, although there was no "break." I set up the campaign, particularly in the Los Angeles area, recognizing what I felt was the proper political organization: the National Committeeman representing

~~to~~ national policy and deciding who should come into the State, the State Central Committee setting up the State plan, and the County Central Committee having charge of precinct work, local publicity, and the women's groups, the Assembly, etc. helping wherever help was needed.

The County Central Committee and its chairman, Ed Shattuck, welcomed this and they worked for nothing. I rented rooms for them in the Arcade Building, through that fine citizen, and later a judge, Julius Petrosso. I soon discovered that many county officers and their associates were on the payroll and increasing office space, hiring secretaries at substantial salaries, all without consulting me. The finance committee, and the budget committee, of which Asa Call was chairman, did not like this either. There never was a finer leader of businessmen than Asa Call. He was always able to get money, always consulted with his associates, always responded to phone calls, and was a man of excellent judgment and standing, and still is. He and his committee were not Wilkie-minded. They did not like "One World."

Willkie
~~Wilkie~~ was the easiest candidate I ever worked with. He would inquire first thing in the morning what the program of the day was. Murray Chotiner usually worked it out in 15-minute periods. Willkie ~~Wilkie~~ would always follow it, making speeches in accord with what we told him was the pertinent subject, meeting the leading citizen in a given community, etc. He did not carry a watch, and had money stuffed in all his pockets. As he walked along, his mind would be far away and someone always had to see to it that he did not walk into a closed door. When he wanted to run the second time, I was delegated to advise him not to and he took it very well.

Claire Boothe Luce was very interested in the Wilkie campaign and we discussed some of the campaign problems. I knew she was reporting back. As in most other national elections, there were other pipelines to the presidential candidate, through relatives, etc., and sooner or later the local committee learned about them.

We knew the campaign did not look too good. I could not get money I needed for billboards, etc. It just wasn't donated. Senator Knowland, who was then National Committeeman for California, felt that he should name certain people to posts, have charge of presidential policy, etc. Brad Melvin of San Francisco was State Chairman. I liked him, too. He cooperated but was of the "San Francisco School" and disagreed with Knowland. Things were not going well..

Congressman Joe Martin, the National Committee Chairman, called a meeting in San Francisco to try to straighten out the situation. We were a small group. On my way up it occurred to me that ex-President Hoover had not taken part in any of the decisions or been heard from, etc. I knew he wasn't ~~Wilkie-~~ Willkie minded but decided to go and see him. I found Ben Gray, secretary of the California Almond Growers, who used to be in Hoover's office when he was President. Ben said that the "chief" was in town and would be glad to see me, and told me he would get word to me. I was in the meeting, which was a torrid one, when Bert Mattei, close to Hoover, stuck his head in the door and beckoned to me. He told me that the "chief" would see me now. I just couldn't leave because I was the only one in the meeting who could keep cool and I knew that neither Melvin nor Knowland nor Martin would understand if I left, so I explained

the situation briefly to Mattei. He gave me Hoover's room number and said I might see him later.

About an hour and a half later things had cooled down and I excused myself and went to Hoover's room. He had left. I felt I had committed the unpardonable sin of "standing up" the ex-President. Gray and I looked all over for him unsuccessfully, and I finally went back to my room to prepare to leave for Los Angeles that night. I found a note under the door from Hoover's secretary, stating approximately: "The Chief understood very well why you could not leave the meeting. He wants very much to talk with you. Will you please meet him at ten o'clock at his home in Palo Alto tomorrow morning. His telephone number is . . . ."

I changed my reservations, borrowed a car from Brad Melvin and went to see Hoover the next morning. We spent two and a half hours discussing matters, financial difficulties, etc. He was not happy to learn that Ed Shattuck would be County Chairman. (Bear in mind that I personally liked Ed Shattuck very much but often did not agree with him as a politician.) He wanted to know why I refused to be State Chairman and said he didn't blame me for refusing but that I could very properly make $25,000 or more a year in public relations and not do anything wrong. I told him he knew I wouldn't do that and he agreed that he knew I should not. He made no promises. I declined his invitation to have lunch, drove Brad Melvin's car to the airport, and got back to Los Angeles in the late afternoon.

Jim Page, a great civic leader and a member of the finance committee, called me early next morning and asked me what things the committee needed money for. He told me to count on his

getting funds for the billboards immediately and said he would try to get me additional funds, which he did. Soon after Page called, Morgan Adams of Mortgage Guaranty Company called me. He told me that he and Paul Shoup were together and were setting up a meeting of the Merchants & Manufacturers Association to be held at the Biltmore Bowl in about ten days, and invited me to come over and work with them on the invitations. I reminded him that I was not a member of the Association. He said they hoped I would be principal speaker. We had a good crowd at the Bowl and I came away with $23,000 cash and checks "in the hat." We got more checks later. I never heard from Hoover, but I am sure he was behind all this.

Later, John L. Lewis came out in support and everyone wanted to put up money to have his speech put on radio. I arranged it against my better judgment. I knew money was being wasted and that we would not get very many votes from it.

There was $26,000 in the treasury at the end of the campaign and I got the permission to use part of it in late 1941 for a public opinion poll, etc.

Assemblyman John Knight, with some help from a number of us, worked out a good poll which did not look very Republican. It asked such questions as, "Do you like Governor Olson; if so, why, and if not, why not?" It asked the same questions about Earl Warren and several others, and included questions about several issues. It was an excellent opinion poll. Earl Warren received a copy of the results on Friday and the following Monday he agreed to run (in 1942) for governor. Olson had too many enemies; Earl Warren had very few. Even

the okies were for him. We took other polls, chiefly postcard, and found that many Democrats were for Warren, too.

The Earl Warren campaign started in 1941. He had never been very active in or close to Republican organizations, and his nearest friends were not active in Republican organizations except Bill Knowland, named later as senator by Warren. When Knowland went to war, Bill Reichel of Oakland, who was close to both Warren and Knowland, acted as Knowland's temporary substitute as National Committeeman. Reichel was an ACTIVE MEMBER Assembly~~man~~.

About 1944, Ray Haight, a progressive, became National Committeeman. He became ill and came to me during the campaign and asked me to take his job. I was chairman of the Executive Committee in Southern California and told him if I did, it would appear to be a rift in the party. I persuaded him not to withdraw and I agreed to take over some of his work. He died a few days later. His death was a real loss of a remarkable man.

I took over as Acting National Committeeman until the next meeting of the State Central Committee, at which Warren and the State Committee approved my appointment as National Committeeman.

Faries as National Republican Committeeman and Acting Chairman of Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee

I was Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Committee until after the Eisenhower campaign and was approved as Chairman by the State Central Committee, the delegates and Governor Warren. In other words, Warren approved me three times for this position.

For some reason I did not attend Ray Haight's funeral. A group, including the Governor, Knowland, and others, met at Goodwin Knight's home later that day. It appeared that Knight,

Shattuck, Bernard Brennan (a good man and politician), Murray Chotiner, and some others were all said to want the office of National Committeeman for California. Bill Knowland supported me and came to see me later. I told him I would not enter into any intra-party fight, but that if everybody wanted me to take it I would, but not otherwise. Kyle Palmer came to see me later and told me that the Governor had stated that I was his choice; that Knowland was pushing for me; and that he had been commissioned "to get the others out of the race." One by one they endorsed me, and I had no opposition.

Candidates or campaigns as a rule defeat themselves before they get defeated. IN CALIFORNIA The Republicans used to win year after year, although they were in the minority. In fact the minority and percentage of voters in California was practically the same then as it is now between the Republicans and Democrats. Cross-filing had something to do with our winning but it was only a minor factor. We won anyway after that. I believe in cross-filing; the issues in statepolitics and problems of state government are so very different from those on the national level. Thus, a county is interested in such matters as water, schools, roads, etc. on the state level, and nationally in foreign relations, the draft, getting employment under war contracts, etc. This situation is disappearing, in part by the fact that more and more states are becoming dependent on the federal government for financial help.

sb hd

THE FARIES CAMPAIGN FORMULA

A campaign, particularly a national one, according to my formula, generally started as follows when I was a national committeeman and was active in state politics:

(1) I talked with the U.S. Senator from California and the governor long before the campaign got underway. Timing is tremendously important and Murray Chotiner and I seemed to understand this, he particularly on the campaign level, such as releases to the press, etc., and I on the general over-all level. He was a tremendous worker and later went to work on the Nixon campaign as campaign manager. I remained as campaign chairman and usually worked among people who had good financial standing.

(2) I went East, and to New York generally, then to Washington and sometimes to Chicago and Boston. In cities other than Washington I tried "to get the feel" and visit people with "big names." New York is and was the money center. It is a trading center, not a production center substantially. It seeks foreign orders especially. Purchases from foreign countries, aid to foreign countries, etc., are generally channeled through its banks and trust companies. The big New York law firms have representatives in Washington legal departments, the State Department, etc., all of which creates an entree for their clients from abroad. The City of New York and the area within a radius of 100 miles is not, Republican-minded. If they cannot get a Republican to run or they think a Republican cannot be elected, they put up a Democrat who looks good to New York. If they cannot get a candidate from either party, then the race to cultivate, etc. is on.

(3) In Washington I contacted and perhaps gave a luncheon for the Republicans in Congress, visited the Capitol Hill Club and the Republican National Committee headquarters.

(4) On my return to California I called in the leaders, i.e., State chairman's group, women's organizations, county chairman's group, young Republicans, Republican Assembly, etc. to report on what I had done, big names I had conferred with, etc., telling them that things were starting in the East, then getting their ideas. The national committeeman and national committeewoman (generally from up north) were present and matters regarding national propaganda, national guidance in the campaign, national finances, who should come to California to speak, how they were invited, who should be kept out of California, etc.were decided.

(5) The State Republican Committee was in charge of planning the campaign in the State, and worked with organizations such as the California Republican Women Federated, etc., in order to give them representation.

(6) These organizations and the County Committees worked with the precinct organizations and carried the campaign on the county level with the aid of the local Republican Women's clubs, etc. They decided whether the State should be divided into districts, or geographically, as it usually was. Some were not happy with this arrangement.

(7) Membership on the finance committees, nationally and locally, and particularly the committee's budget subcommittee, headed by good chairmen, was important. These committees were interested, first, in the national campaign, then the senatorial, etc., then the gubernatorial, etc., statewide offices, and lastly the local offices. Unfortunately this often resulted in the local offices getting a small share. Also, it played

candidates for the legislature into the hands of lobbyists, etc.

(8) I met regularly with members of the "third house"; (9) also with public relations men who generally worked with the campaign manager. (10) Someone was delegated to contact as many as possible of the small newspaper publishers, radio and televisions stations, etc. and arrange to keep them advised. We also arranged for candidates to appear on radio and television. It was very important that the news media got their share of advertising, and that we be kept informed of the issues in each area. This information was "fed" to the candidates and the national committee.

(11) We took one or two professional public polls, including postcard polls, to ascertain what the public was thinking, their views of the candidates, and whether our publicity and speech subject matter was right.

(12) The usual hoard of persons desiring paid employment had to be reckoned with and this matter was usually resolved by arranging appointments at an inconvenient hour late in the day or in the evening. Most of them faded away. (13) Telephone calls were numerous, and if they fell off it was a danger signal.

(14) Persons of foreign birth or even second generation had to be received cordially and their responses welcomed. Arrangements were made for candidates or speakers from other states to address them, and they appreciated this honor. We set up excellent committees among them, and there were some very fine Republicans in their group. Women worked especially hard for weeks addressing and paying for their own mail, giving dinners at their homes, etc. They had letterheads made up, and listed some very fine sponsors in their group on them. I accumulated

a list of some 5,000 of such people which I turned over to the State and County Committee when I went on the bench. The Lord knows what happened to that list; I don't.

(15) Ads in throw-away newspapers and small town papers, and contacts with that segment of the news media were largely a matter of local concern but I insisted on this. It resulted in editorials, and reached people we would not have reached otherwise. Many stated they could not follow the political recommendations of the "dailies." Newspapers in outlying communities, such as the Pomona Progress and the San Marino Tribune, to name two, provided more political information than did the urban publications.

(16) Monthly meetings and dinners with national and state figures went out of style after I left.

(17) There are a multitude of other things. The original set-up of campaigns was sometimes resented by state and county committees, and women's organizations. The National Committeeman took charge of housing, tickets, etc. which was a big project. Hotel accommodations at conventions and in Washington for the inauguration, transportation, arranging for floats, hiring bands, had to be arranged, and slip-ups were many but we attempted to be fair and overcame objections from the local groups.

The Republican party was originally organized in Ripon. Those who took part went back to their states and organized locally and proposed the names of a national committeeman (and later a national committeewoman), who were seated at the convention to serve the next four years.

The National Committee considers itself a separate arm from the State, and the addition of state chairmen, a Young Republican National Committeeman and Young National Committeewoman is all good but creates a more difficult organization.

Campaigning for Senator William Knowland

I have not mentioned my association with Senator William Knowland, whom I first met when I was active in the Republican Assembly. Following his appointment to the U.S. Senate by Governor Warren, Bill asked me to chairman his campaign in Southern Calif. for the balance of his first term and for the next, and I agreed to. Contrary to the widespread and Democrat-supported claim, he was not appointed primarily in repayment of a debt (although there was one) to that great citizen, his father, J. R. Knowland, who published the Oakland Tribune, now published by Bill.

It was a difficult start. Joe Crail, Jr. was the treasurer of the campaign and at one time the party was indebted to the two of us in the sum of approximately $23,000. We got most of it back.

The main issue of the 1946 campaign was Communism, the Reds, etc. Bill Rogers, Jr. was the Democratic candidate, and many mistakenly thought Bill Rogers, Sr. [Will Rogers] was running.

Knowland was a tremendous worker and the election was a success. His father was a great help when the campaign got underway and funds were low. Bill won by a tremendous margin at his elected term in 1952 and carried many places that were about four-to-one Democrat.

Early in the second (1952) campaign for Senate I went one night BEFORE IT STARTE to a Methodist Church in Watts as a representative of the Church Federation. The minister was a fine man who had been a Pancho Villa Mexican bandit. The meeting was poorly attended because

it was a rainy night, and it gave us an opportunity to visit. The Korean War had started and he told me that some 400 young men in his church AREA had gone to Korea. Most of them were in our National Guard Unit. They were in good shape and their equipment was ready, so they went across early. Two hundred were killed, and he said that his people complained and could not understand why the boys were put in the front rank and killed, while men in other units did not draw the same assignment. He continued, saying these boys were sent to the front improperly prepared and without qualified officers. On one occasion the commanding officer aboard a destroyer riding near the shore and near the front lines called out through a megaphone and demanded that the officer in command ashore speak to him. An answer came back loud and clear, "Hell, there are no officers here. This is the front line." MacArthur, he said, got no support, etc. The Mexicans were dissatisfied with the way things were going.

Knowland went up and down the state thundering about the Korean War, how we had at the start only one first-class plane in Korea although $70 million had been given to Truman for arming Korea, etc. and he had not used it. Knowland's issue was a natural and he won very handily. Other Republicans did, too, but Knowland was the big winner and he did because he carried the burden in the race.

After inauguration in 1953 I told Knowland I had spent far more time in politics than I had intended to and had to leave it now to rebuild my business, which had been hurt as a result of time expended in the Eisenhower campaign, and in Nixon's and Kuchel's and his, and suggested that he get another

National Committeeman. He brought up the matter of an appointment to the Federal District Court which I declined. It was an unhappy court in my opinion and I thought an experienced Republican trial judge should be the first appointee. There ~~were several newly~~ WAS ONE newly created judgeships, and that one was filled IN LOS Angeles BY A REPUBLICAN but the rest were bottled up by the committee, although there was a need for more federal judges in the court in the next eight years.

Bill then asked me if I would consider a state judgeship, and I told him that the way I felt that morning I would consider a Los Angeles County Superior Court appointment. It was a court I respected, on which I had many friends, and I could live at home. It was a "happy" court. A few days later Governor Warren telephoned and told me the Legislature was creating several judge positions on the Superior Court and asked if I would like one. I told him I would but that I did not want to embarrass him or especially Bill Knowland, as I had been in many battles and had many scars. He told me that Knowland had written him, whereupon I accepted his offer. Perhaps I am Governor Warren's only political judicial appointee, and I defend myself in that I probably gave up a much better and larger law practice than most other appointees, and I trust I did a good job.

I have to shorten this, so omit much which is to me of interest concerning Senators Knowland and Kuchel, and our "sensitive and friendly President Nixon."

Conclusions of a Minority Party Leader

To win for a minority party there must be (a) some crisis; (b) a belief the minority has the better man; and (c) good timing. Also, the leaders of the minority must find

a common ground with the majority. We used to say that the Republicans were two-thirds conservative and one-third liberal, while the Democrats were two-third liberal and one-third conservative in California. There is some comparison today.

Never do as many Republicans have done and lost for you -- "Get out and fight the Democrats; we can win from the grass roots, etc." Make friends, and emphasize the issues on which you agree. They should be those you emphasize in the campaign. Show that they are important and that your candidate is by far the most able and dedicated, and will work hard for all--especially for jobs. "I and my wife; my son, John, and his wife." You cannot make a burro love you or work for you by hitting him over the head with a railroad tie.

Your mind must go on to the Knowland for Governor, the Nixon for Governor, the Goldwater campaigns. (We never let the right-to-work, etc. get in our way.) But these were all after some of us retired after Eisenhower got in. I'm sorry I'm so sure of how to do it. But I guess I go by what has worked. Does that make me an egotist! I guess it does. I'm sorry.

Politics was my avocation, but as a lawyer I like to think I represented a good group of solid clients. I thank my partners and associates and employees for all they did to allow me the time for party work. I never liked criminal work and always sent it elsewhere. I hoped to be a specialist in municipal law, but the depression spoiled my getting into that field. Our firm represented several street bonding houses and worked on the legal aspects of opening and widening streets, new subdivisions, etc. We did a tremendous amount of subdivision

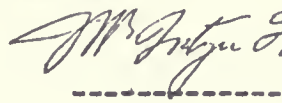
trust work. All this dwindled down to a trickle during the depression and it was then I handled matters outside the specialty of the other partners, and I learned to do everything, which was a great help to me. Gradually our office became known as one of the good reliable firms, particularly in oil, corporate and estate work, and our "period of gestation" was not nearly as long as that of many offices.

As I look back on what I have written I find I have not said anything about my schooling. I think I have said enough. However, I am appending an excerpt from Who's Who in American Politics (R. R. Bowker & Co.) which will give you a thumbnail sketch of my schooling, etc.

Although I hesitate doing so, I mention names of the capable women who have carried the burden between conventions and done so much hard work. I am thinking of such people as Mrs. Edith Van De Water of Long Beach who started our Conference of Republican Women and our Republican Women's Clubs, and served as National Committeewoman; Mrs. Jessie Williamson who followed her; Mrs. Marjorie Benedict of Berkeley who was National Committeewoman when I was National Committeeman; and Mrs. Hite who went on to Washington. Among the greatest, however, were persons not Republican National Committeewomen. I think of such workers and officeholders in the Republican Women's organizations as Mrs. Raymond Kenyon, Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell, Mrs. Logan Goodknight, Mrs. Louis Lombardi, Mrs. Branch Ring, etc.

I could do much more reminiscing, but as I close my remarks I want to say that after the terrible illness and death of my loving first wife I met my good wife, the widow of Arthur Bergh, after a lapse of about one and a half years. I

have never met a more beautiful character or a person with more friends and admirers, or one who has done more for music, etc. in this State and in the East, and I have been and am most blessed with her devotion.



Who's Who in American Politics
(R. R. Bowker & Co.)

(Excerpt)

FARIES, McINTYRE

b. Wei Hsien, Shantung Province, China, 4/17/96; s. William Reid Faries and Priscilla Ellen Chittick; m. 10/7/22 to Margaret Lois Shorten, wid; m. 12/3/65 to Geraldyne Brewer Bergh; c. Barbara Lois (Mrs. Kenneth J. Simpson) and Marjorie Ann (Mrs. John William Gaines). Educ: Occidental Col, A.B. 20; Univ.South.Calif, 19-22; Southwest.Univ.Los Angeles,J.D. 26; Phi Beta Kappa; Olive Crown; Phi Delta Phi; Phi Gamma Delta; Econ. Club; Blackstonian. Polit. & Govt. Pos: Del. and mem. exec.cmt, Rep.Nat.Conv. 36, del, 40,44,48 & 52; v.chmn, Calif. Rep.State Cent.Cmt, 38; pres, Calif.Rep.Assembly, 38; chmn, Rep. Campaign Cmt. South Calif, 40 & 42, mem.exec.comt, 50; chmn, Sen.William F. Knowland Campaign, 46 & 52; mem,Rep.Nat.Cmt, 47-53, mem.exec.cmt. and v.chmn, 48-53; mem.exec.cmt. Calif. Campaigns, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 52, Richard M. Nixon for Congressman,Sen. and V.President, Thomas F. Kuchel for Senate, twice and Earl Warren for Gov. three times; judge, Superior Court, 53-69, pretrial div, 60, presiding judge crim.div. 60-61, presiding judge, 61-64 and appellate dept. 65. Bus. & Prof. Pos: Pres. and mem.exec.cmt. El Pueblo de Los Angeles, Inc., Calif. 53-68. Mil.Serv: Entered as Seaman 2/C, Navy, 17, released as Ens,Naval Res, 19, after serv. in Pac, 17-19; Naval Res. 19-20, Ret. Mem: Co-chmn, Los Amigos del Pueblo; pres, Los Angeles City Birthday Celebration, 66; pres. El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Hist.Monument Cmn, 66-67; mem.Calif. State Park and Recreation Cmn, 68-69; mem, Calif. Bicentennial Cmn, 69; Am.Law Inst; U.S, Calif. and L.A. Co. Bar asns; Calif. Water Asn. (past pres); Sixth Dist. Agr. Asn. (pres); Am. Acad. Polit & Soc.Sci; Judicature Soc; Calif. Club; Lincoln Club; San Marino City Club; Oneonta Club (past pres); Hwa Pei Benevolent Asn. South. Calif; patron, Pasadena Tournament of Roses; Los Angeles World Affairs Coun; San Marino Lodge; San Marino Post; Hist.Soc.South Calif; Acacia Club; Mason. Rel: Presbyterian. Mailing Add: 400 S. Burnside, Apt. 5-C, Los Angeles, Calif. 90036.

Mrs. Ivy - This was sent to Myers & a couple of candidates. It might be history now, but worked. When Watson says he should appear Mac

MEMORANDUM

When I ceased to be Republican National Committeeman (voluntarily) I took the State Central Committee Chairman and County Committee Chairman to lunch and tried to impress on each of them the same things I am mentioning in this memorandum. Also, I turned over to one or both of them a file with the names and connections of in excess of 5000 persons, whom I took to be key persons.

Some months later I found my ideas had not been followed through; organization was scattered and many persons were very unhappy; the lists could not be found. I was called in because Eisenhower was coming to Los Angeles and they wanted these people to make a showing, etc. I found that many of these people were very angry because they had not heard from anybody and many were Democrats and had "stuck their necks out" in their predominantly Democrat Groups.

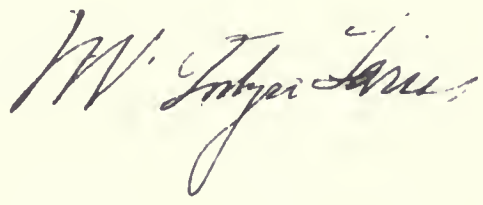
Long before any election, in fact as early as possible, a person with a title and proper authorization from the candidate, should go to each area and meet with first, the Republican key people without any fanfare, then with the newspaper, radio and television people, ~~especially~~ the people of various ~~religious groups~~, i.e., majors, religious leaders, newspaper publishers, Mexican-Americans, Jewish-Americans, farm leaders, etc., and get their ideas on such matters as (1) The most important problems of that particular area, responsibility therefor, etc. (I refer to such matters as water, roads, environment, etc., etc.).

(2) The persons on the campaign should come back with reports and the names of the key persons to put into key spots, to organize and to try to get the support of the local papers, etc. Thus, Mrs. Bonelli, whose husband is a dentist, should give a party and try to get the right to use the leading Italians or Basques, etc.

(3) In the larger cities particularly, the full list of throw-aways, neighborhood newspapers, Union newspapers, pensioners' newspapers, etc., should be obtained and the same type of investigation and attempts at friendship should be gone through and data obtained and catalogued, so that when the candidate is in the vicinity, either here or as in #1, it can be used and these people can and will be contacted and the newspaper men can show beautiful new presses, etc. Also, the question of local presentation of advertising, the obtaining of editorials which mention the position of the candidate, can be perhaps not on the first occasion but on later ones, obtained. I could keep on at considerable length on these things, but I believe there are many, many thousands of people who have the mind that says "I read the Times but I do not follow the Chandler politics", or "I read the Herald-Examiner but I do not follow the Hearst thinking", etc. In other words, more people follow the little local paper because they think it has their area at heart (and maybe it does). Also, they will try to get local support people and ads. I greatly value the Federation of Republican Women for this and other purposes and believe that infiltration can take place in even what appears to be the worse areas, such as public housing, etc.

(4) I believe that it is necessary before and after election to have small luncheons, as well as large ones, even though the candidate cannot be present, at least once a month to keep people encouraged to find out how the election is progressing locally, whether there has been a change in issues, etc.

(5) I believe there should be an early professional poll in each of these locations, nonpartisan (apparently), conducted by the local mortician, and the result of which should not be published. Thereafter, if properly chosen, postcard polls can probably be used.



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Amelia R. Fry

Graduated from the University of Oklahoma in 1947 with a B.A. in psychology, wrote for campus magazine; Master of Arts in educational psychology from the University of Illinois in 1952, with heavy minors in English for both degrees.

Taught freshman English at the University of Illinois 1947-48, and Hiram College (Ohio) 1954-55. Also taught English as a foreign language in Chicago 1950-53.

Writes feature articles for various newspapers, was reporter for a suburban daily 1966-67. Writes professional articles for journals and historical magazines.

Joined the staff of Regional Oral History Office in February, 1959.

Conducted interview series on University history, woman suffrage, the history of conservation and forestry, and public administration and politics.

Director, Earl Warren Oral History Project

Secretary, Oral History Association; oral history editor, Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship.

Elizabeth Poe Kerby

B.A. in English Literature from University of New Mexico. Master of Arts Degree from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.

Taught freshman English, University of New Mexico.

Worked as a correspondent for Time, Life, and Fortune in New York, Washington, and Los Angeles intermittently from 1948 through 1962.

Since 1962 has been a free lance writer. Published a sixth grade text book supplement, The Conquistadors, 1969.

Contributed articles on polticial and social topics in various periodicals in the United States and Europe.

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